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TRIBAL STUDIES IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

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By

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[Title Page]

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CHAPTER X

THE KATAB AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

101 *General.*—There is a group of tribes situated in the Zaria and Plateau Provinces which speak a common tongue and display so much uniformity of cultural traits that the group may almost be regarded as constituting a single tribe and each division of the group as constituting a sub-tribe. There is, however, no political cohesion between the divisions and no consciousness of relationship other than that conferred by continuous social intercourse. The group includes the Katab, Kachichere, Morwa, Ataka, and Kagoro, to use the terms by which they are known to the outside world, though not to themselves.

Closely associated culturally, and to some extent also linguistically, with the above group are the Kaje, Kamantan, Jaba, and Ikulu, and, to a lesser extent, the Kagoma.

[131] The Katab, Kachichere, Kamantan, Ikulu, a section of the Jaba, and a section of the Kaje, are situated in the Zaria Province, while the remainder are in the Plateau Province. The Morwa, Kagoro, and the Plateau section of the Jaba are independent, i.e. they deal directly with the British administrative officer; but the remaining communities are subject to the jurisdiction of the Fulani Emirs of Zaria or Jemaa. It is in some respects unfortunate that a single ethnic unit should be divided between two provinces, and that some sections should be subject to one form of government, and others to another. If this arrangement is necessary for historical and local considerations, care should be exercised that a reasonable amount of administrative uniformity is secured, and that, in such important matters as the regulations governing marriage, modifications in native custom should not be introduced among groups in one province

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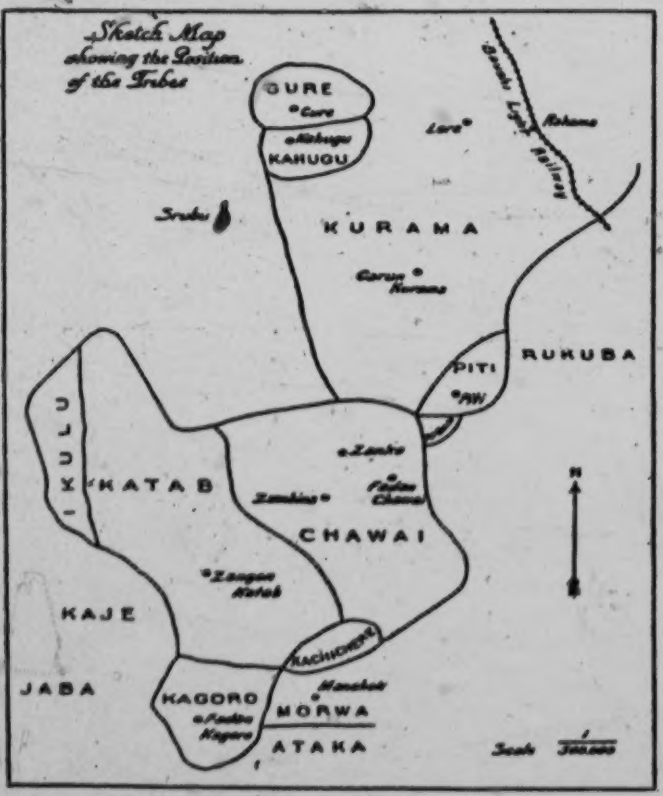
without reference to their effect on fellow-groups in the neighbouring province. To this reference will be made later.

Geography.—The physical character of the country varies considerably. The Katab district may be described generally as undulating, the Morwa as a flat, fertile plain, the Ataka as



hilly, and the Kagoro as a plain flanked by ranges of hills, the most beautiful, perhaps, in the whole of Nigeria. These hills rise to form the plateau from which in comparatively recent times the Kagoro and Ataka descended to their present habitat. The plain country is open savannah with few large trees. It is fairly well watered, the rainfall, at a computation, averaging

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anything from 45–60 inches. The attached map indicates the relative position of the various tribes.

History.—Prior to the establishment of the Fulani-Beri-Beri régime in the early days of the nineteenth century, the locality we are considering had fallen in varying degrees under the influence of the Habe rulers of Zaria, or of their representatives and allies, such as the Chiefs of Kauru, Karigi, and Kajuru. The Katab were certainly to some extent subservient to Kauru, and the Morwa and Kaje to Zaria; while the Kamantan and probably also the warlike Kagoro seem to have paid tribute to Kajuru. The conquest of Zaria by Mallam Musa, and the establishment of Mallam Usuman at Jemaa at the beginning of last century merely meant a change of masters for the majority of these tribes. The Kagoro, however, stoutly resisted the claims of Jemaa to anything but a nominal suzerainty. They suffered heavily on more than one occasion in their attempts, ultimately successful, to maintain the independence which they still enjoy.

Language.—A schedule of words and phrases of the Katab language is attached. This language has been provisionally included, on grounds of vocabulary, in the Nigerian Semi-Bantu group of the Middle Sudanic Zone (see *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, vol. ii, p. 137). It approximates in many respects to the Semi-Bantu type, but as the prefix system is very much less developed than in the typical Semi-Bantu languages such as Kurama or Ikulu, the Katab and allied languages should, in my opinion, form a separate group of the Middle Zone. It will be observed that although some plurals are formed by prefix change others are formed by a change of suffix. It is not possible to say whether the language now spoken by the Katab was their original tongue or not. If the tribe came, as stated, from the North, it is unlikely that they spoke a language identical with that of their present neighbours, the Morwa, Ataka, Kachichere, and Kagoro. Uniformity of language is only attained and maintained by continuous social contact. All that we can say is that as a result of proximity and intermarriage in recent times all these tribes have come to use a common tongue.

Tribal Nomenclature.—The Katab call themselves the Tyap (the *t* being palatalized). The second syllable of Katab no doubt represents the word by which the tribe call themselves.

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The Katab call the			Kagoro	"Agwot".
"	"	"	Morwa	"Aholia".
"	"	"	Jaba	"Ada".
"	"	"	Chawe	"Atsomia".
"	"	"	Ganawuri	"Etien".
"	"	"	Aregwe	"Idafan".
"	"	"	Berom	"Aku:t".
"	"	"	Piti	"Epit".
"	"	"	Hausa	"Akwat".
"	"	"	Fulani	"Fatta".

105 *Culture Complex.*—It has been said that the tribes mentioned display a remarkable cultural uniformity, the more conspicuous traits of which may be summarized as follows: (1) the use of a common language of classifying type by five of the tribes (viz. Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kachichere, and Kagoro); (2) the peculiar type of dwelling, oblong at the base, with a pinnacled overhanging roof[1]; (3) the mushroom-shaped lumbar adornment worn by the women,[2] the use of lip discs and of a similar pattern of tribal marks; (4) exogamy in some shape or form; (5) the practice of wife-stealing or sub-marriages; (6) the practice of marriage with the grandfather's widow; (7) inheritance of father's widows,[3] and (8) head-hunting. These are the main points of contact; but it will be seen later, when we come to study the social system in detail, that there are also striking divergences, and that as regards the Ikulu we have to do with a tribe which belongs to a totally different ethnic group and has only in recent times come to adopt some of the characteristic features enumerated above.

The Katab

Social Organization

614 [181] *The Clans.*—Socially, the Katab, who number about 11,000, consist of four patrilineal groups or clans, viz. (1) Minyam (pop. 3,600), (2) Agbat (pop. 6,100), (3) Shokwa (pop. 200), (4) Aku (pop. 960). Each clan is exogamous, that is to say that intermarriage between members of the same clan is not permitted. The clan members believe themselves to be related by descent from a common ancestor, but in some instances whole groups

[1] See sketch on p. 52.
[2] The Ikulu excepted.
[3] The Kagoma excepted.

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of immigrants from neighbouring tribes have been adopted by a clan and subjected to the general rule of clan exogamy, i.e. the territorial bond has taken the place of the belief in a common descent, or rather local groups have in some cases become identified with kinship groups. In this respect the Katab present a contrast to their neighbours, the Morwa and Kagoro, among whom there is no bar to intermarriage between the aboriginal inhabitants and immigrant members of other tribes.

The territorial grouping of the Katab clans corresponds generally, but not absolutely, with the clan grouping. For though the Minyam and Aku clans each occupy in the main their own territory, the Agbat clan is split in two, the Kwak sub-section being separated from the Nje and Kpaisa sub-sections by the intervening clan of Minyam. But, according to tradition, the local grouping in former times coincided with the social. The small clan of Shokwa lives mixed up with the Kwak sub-section of the Agbat clan. Moreover, families or individuals of one clan may be found living in villages of another clan, and where this happens the usual rules of clan exogamy apply.

It is not uncommon, for example, for a man to take up residence in his mother's village, and in such a case he would be eligible to marry any girl in that village (provided she was not too closely related to his mother's relatives).

History of the Clans.—The Katab appear to have come into their present habitat from the direction of Karigi, some fifty miles due north of Zangon Katab, in order to remove themselves further from the slave-raiding expeditions sent out from Zaria. Their traditions suggest that they arrived in small parties, each of which became the starting point of a comparatively large social group which ultimately displaced the Chawai, Kachichere, and Rumada, the former inhabitants of the district. There are grounds for believing that neither of the small clans of Shokwa and Aku belonged to the main body of the Katab immigrants, and it is even asserted that the Shokwa were not immigrants at all but had always lived in their present settlement. For this reason, perhaps, Shokwa are the rain-makers for the tribe, and it is said that Shokwa and his wife, the founders of the clan, rose miraculously out of the Kaduna river. The Aku are said to have sprung out of the ground from the hoofmark made by

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Nje[1] horsemen, and owing to this circumstance they derived their nickname of *Bin shio* or relatives of flying ants. It will be observed that the clan titles are nowadays believed to have been derived from the names borne by the reputed founders of the clan, but there is evidence that some at least of the clan titles were formerly place names.

Clan Emblems and Taboos.—Some of the Katab clans have, as we shall see, certain animal or plant taboos, but these do not appear to be closely associated with the system of clan exogamy or to play a prominent part in maintaining the sense of relationship between the members of the clan. We have seen that the Aku bear the nickname of "flying ants" and, although the flying ant is not an Aku emblem, we are reminded of Andrew Lang's view that totems were originally sobriquets. It does not appear that the Aku have any general taboo other than the male shea tree (*nensham*). This tree may be cut down, but its wood may not be used for burning. If an Aku were to eat food cooked over a fire in which *nensham* wood had been used his body would become covered with sores. The leaves of this tree are used as a taboo, and no Aku woman would dare enter a house if the owner had placed a bunch of *nensham* leaves at the door.

The Agbat clan respects the crocodile (*tsang*). It is their friend and brother (*nanyuk*) and on it oaths are sworn. An Agbat, it is said, can play unharmed with a crocodile in the water. If he sees its dead body he hastily retreats, or buries it. He will not even touch a piece of crocodile skin. If he kills a crocodile by accident he must hurry off to the forest for some special medicine; if he kills it by design the entire clan will, it is believed, perish. The reason assigned for this association is that once in ancient times the Katab were flying from their enemies and came to an unfordable river. Crocodiles formed a bridge for the Agbat, but swam away when the other Katab clans tried to cross by the same means. An Agbat can frighten a crocodile by merely calling out the name of some other clan

[1] A variant account says that Agbat and his people were out hunting and came across the men of Shokwa who were performing certain religious rites. As Agbat passed them his horse's hoof made a hole in the ground, and out of this hole sprang Aku. Aku joined in the religious dance of the Shokwa, and was immediately acclaimed as a brother. There is a curious parallel to this story given in Hutton's *The Sema Nagas*, p. 124. Mr. Hutton says: "The Asimi abstain from eating winged ants. The reason given is that their first ancestors emerged from the earth."

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than his own. There does not appear to be any belief nowadays that an Agbat, on dying, turns into a crocodile, but it was stated that when an old Agbat man dies his friends sing: "The water is all astir—the crocodile is entering." An Agbat woman does not cease to respect the crocodile on her marriage, and it was said that the son of an Agbat woman, though he takes his exogamic unit from his father, shows respect to his mother's totem as well as to his father's. The Agbat also, apparently, respect the leopard. If an Agbat kills a leopard he is required by custom to perform certain rites designed to protect him from the ghost of the dead animal. He sends a friend or relative to a neighbouring tribe (Kagoro) for medicine, some of which he drinks and some of which he smears on his body. He will not eat leopard's flesh or wear a leopard's skin. The reason now assigned for this respect is that once in bygone days an Agbat ate leopard's flesh and his body became covered with boils. The conception of non-respect for a totem causing boils is common and is also found in other parts of the world (e.g. among the Melanesians of New Guinea). The Agbat do not call themselves "Leopards", but they state that in battle they were always put in the van, and as they rushed forward they shouted "We are leopards; we cannot run away".

The Shokwa clan respect the *tatong*, one of the lizard family. The association of the *tatong* with the Shokwa clan was begun, it is said, in the following way. Shokwa, the founder of the clan, was sitting alone in his house lighting a fire. A *tatong*, hearing the noise, came and spoke to Shokwa, asking who he was and where were his relatives. Shokwa replied that he had no relatives, and the *tatong* then assured him that God would increase his family. This prophecy came true, and Shokwa ordered all his children to respect the *tatong* for all time. And so no man of Shokwa may injure a *tatong*, and if he finds one he takes it to the priestly head of the Kuzat family who houses it in a granary, feeds it with beniseed and finally releases it with blessings. For the Shokwa regard the *tatong* as a relative, and if they find the body of a dead *tatong* will cover it with earth reverently, holding a funeral feast as they would for one of their old men. Should a Shokwa man kill a *tatong* accidentally rain would fall, even in the middle of the dry season. The most binding oath a Shokwa can

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614 784 825 make is by the *tatong*. The respect shown by the Shokwa is shared by all the Katab clans, and any member of another clan living near Shokwa who accidentally killed a *tatong* would take its body to Shokwa for burial. The Shokwa people do not, however, call themselves by the name of their emblem animal. On the contrary, the *tatong's* name is taboo.

614 784 824 The Aswen subdivision of Minyam respects a certain large tree at Kibori. This tree is known as " the husband of Aswen ", and rites are regularly performed at its base. There was formerly another tree of the same species at Kibori, which was the original object of worship and was known as " the mother of Aswen ". It was destroyed by fire some forty years ago, and it is said [766] that as it fell it gave a mighty shout. The whole of the Aswen sub-clan assembled, and a funeral feast was held with beer-drinking, dancing, and music (horn band), and the death of the tree was lamented as that of some great chief. The grove round the remaining tree is taboo. No one may enter it with an axe, and every November at harvest first-fruit rites are performed at the base of the tree. The space round the tree is cleared. [782] The headman of Aswen leads the procession of grown-up men, and when they come to the tree all kneel down and salute it twice by touching the ground and then the forehead. The head of the sub-clan offers a petition to the tree for the welfare of the clan and then smears the trunk with a porridge made from new millet (*digitaria*) and pours libations of beer. These rites are performed in the evening, and a dance and feast follow and are kept up until the following night. No female or young person is allowed to approach the vicinity of the tree. The sub-clan does not respect all trees of the same species, and we cannot, therefore, regard the particular tree as a totem, though the title " Mother of Aswen " would suggest that the sub-clan regard the tree as its ancestor. Possibly we have here an instance of a totem in the making, so that in time all trees of the species will become sacred to the Aswen.

Sub-clans and Kindreds.—The principal clans, viz. Minyam 613 583 and Agbat, have subdivisions which may be described as sub-clans, the characteristic feature of the sub-clan being that it constitutes a wife-stealing unit *vis-à-vis* any other sub-clan of the same clan. The sub-clan appears to have come into existence by a [616] process of fission which in the first instance resulted in a dual

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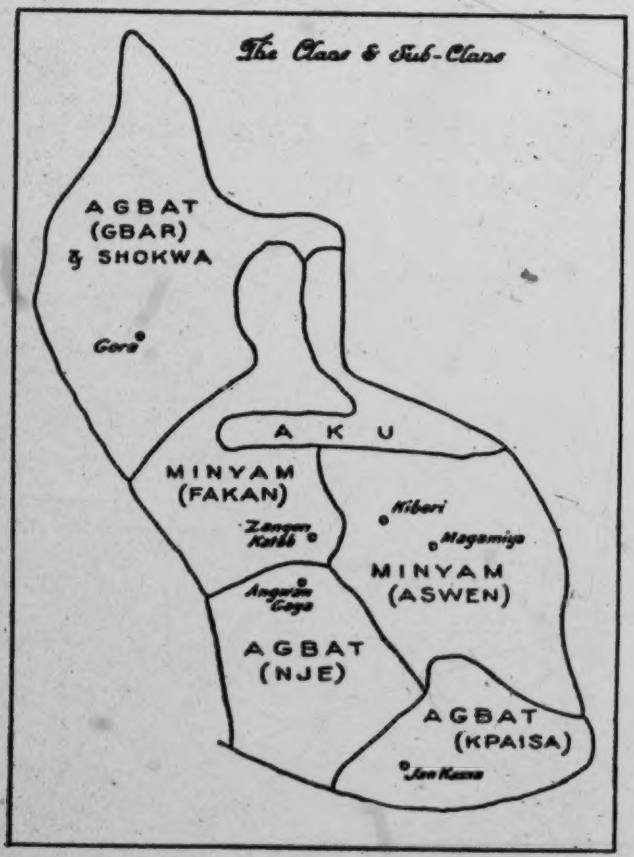
organization.[1] Thus the Minyam clan consists of the moieties[2] Fakan and Aswen, each politically independent and each inclined to be hostile to the other owing to the fact that each constitutes



a group from which the other may abduct married women to become secondary wives. The two sections claim to have had a common father. This cannot now be proved genealogically and

[1] But not a dual organization of the specific type known to anthropologists.
[2] The term "moieties" as used here bears no special sociological significance.

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613 may be a fictitious explanation of the rule which forbids inter-
583 marriage between members of the moieties, a rule which may
616 have been based on reasons other than those of blood relation-ship. The Agbat clan has a triple division, viz. Gbar Kokwak (Kwak), Kpaisa and Nje, but it was stated that the division was originally dual, the Nje being strangers who were adopted at a later date.

612 The sub-clans are composed of kindreds (*kwai* or *bin*), the
616 term kindred being used here to describe the unilateral grouping of a number of families related through the father. Thus the Aswen sub-clan consists of the following kindreds: (1) Amurum-Alan, (2) Yagofo, (3) Awai, (4) Magamiya, (5) Kofo. Here again the organization was in the first instance dual, consisting of two moieties Amurum-Alan and Yagofo, the former being the religious, the latter the political chiefs. The Awai were adopted into the clan as a reward, it is said, for having taught the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo people the art of skinning animals, the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo having previously been in the habit of roasting animals with the skin on. Magamiya and Kofo were also adopted, the former being immigrants from the Ikulu tribe and the latter from the Kagoro of Kabbanchan.

614 The small clans of Aku and Shokwa have no sub-clan organiza-
612 tion and appear to consist of a number of kindreds or adopted groups. There does not appear to be any formal rite of initiation into the clan. A boy learns the rules of exogamy as soon as he reaches the age of puberty, and is shown the costume of the local tutelary genius when he has learnt to use the hoe. The kindreds are, of course, exogamous.

614 The following tables summarize (*a*) the kinship and (*b*) the
613 territorial groupings:—
612

(*a*) KINSHIP GROUPINGS

Clan.	*Sub-Clan.*	*Kindreds and Adopted Groups.*
Minyam	Fakan	Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda.
	Aswen	Amurum-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Magemmi, Kofo.
Agbat	Gbar	Angwai, Tainchen, Telen.
	Kpaisa	?
	Nje	Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba.
Aku	—	Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon.
Shokwa	—	Kuzat, Kamantam.

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(*b*) TERRITORIAL GROUPINGS

Village Area.	*Clan.*	*Sub-Clan.*	*Population.*	
Zonzon	Minyam	Fakan	227	
Sako	"	"	287	
Zarkwai	"	"	303	915
Bakin Kogi	"	"	48	
Kibori	"	Aswen	281	
Kurmin Masara	"	"	520	
Zaman Awon	"	"	243	
Zaman Dabo	"	"	785	2,687
Magamiya	"	"	480	
Taligram	"	"	226	
Giddan Wuka	"	"	152	
Gora	Agbat	Gbar Kokwak	1,200	
Kurmin Gando	"	" "	231	1,431
Jankassa	"	Kpaisa	1,150	
Magada Kura	"	"	407	1,557
Ungwar Gaya	"	Nje	908	
Fada Tsofua	"	"	467	
Giddan Karo	"	"	226	3,115
Kurmin Dawaki	"	"	409	
Mabushi	"	"	1,105	
Ungwar Zaki	Aku	—	137	
Bakin Kogi ii	"	—	94	962
Kigudu	"	—	132	
Kwaku	"	—	599	
Gora	Shokwa	—	200	

Each of the kindreds composing a clan or sub-clan has a recognized social and religious Chief, the Magaji Elenowum, who is not necessarily (as in the patriarchal family) the oldest member of the kindred, but is the direct descendant of that branch of the kindred which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller of the kindred. He may be, and often is, junior to other members of the kindred, but that does not lessen his authority in his own domain. He is the chief priest and offers sacrifice for the kindred and specifies the dates for funerals and other feasts. All large game killed by a member of the kindred has to be brought to him to be divided as he thinks fit. He is entitled to the heads of all horned animals and was in bygone days the custodian of human skulls taken in war. He is appealed to on all matters of custom, ranks, and seniority. His advice may be disregarded, and he would then declare that he would wash his hands of the kindred and leave them to follow their own new-fangled ideas. But his supposed magical

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612 793 powers would in the long run conquer, and his disobedient kinsmen, fearing this curse, would come to him repentently, putting ashes on their heads. In political matters he has no authority, as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. He has, therefore, no say in such matters as the apportionment of taxes, handing over of criminals, cleaning of roads, etc. The civil chief [1] might, however, ask his advice, or in courtesy report to him the steps he had taken. If the kindred [596] consists of more than one extended family,[2] each extended family has also its head, to whom all the members of the family look for guidance. In addition to the social and political headships, [624] there are (always in different branches of the kindred) various other hereditary headships. Thus one branch may have charge of the *obwai* cult, another of the control of rains, another of leechcraft, another of hunting operations and the preparation of arrow poisons, another of the young men, sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on. The Katab is a great believer in the specialization of social [591] functions. It is to be noted that a kindred may include among its residential members married sisters and their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group.

621 *The Village-Area.*—The kindreds are fairly well localized in village-areas, but any village-area may include members belonging to some other kindred than the principal kindred of the village. The following example will illustrate the composition of a typical Katab village.

621 162 The village (Kibori, Aswen sub-clan), containing 191 persons, was found to consist of 27 compounds or an average of 7 persons per compound. Twenty of the 27 households belonged to the Aswen sub-clan, 4 belonged to a neighbouring clan, and 3 belonged to a neighbouring tribe. There were 37 married men and 56 married women, or the high proportion of 1·6 wives to each husband. The reason for this was that the villagers, being

[1] The existing institution of civil chiefs is probably an innovation due to the dominating influence established by the Kauru dynasty over the Katab tribe.

[2] It is difficult to draw a hard and fast distinction between the terms "kindred" and "extended family" as used in this chapter. The term "kindred" designates the group intermediate (where there is an intermediate group) between the extended family and the sub-clan.

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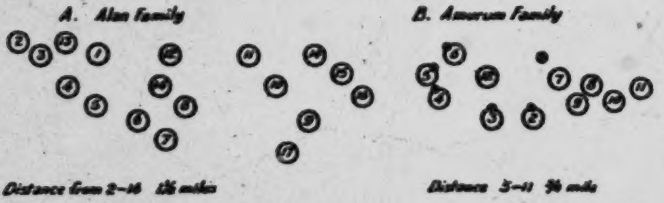
near to the Zangon Katab market, were rich, and could influence the parents of women they wished to secure as brides. 621

Of the wives, 17 were primary and 39 secondary, i.e. 70 per cent of the wives were women who had run away from members of other sub-clans, clans, or tribes. (Of the total, 35 belonged to the Agbat clan, 4 to the Aswen clan, being wives of members of other clans resident at Kibori, and the remainder were obtained from neighbouring tribes.) Nineteen of the 20 households belonged to one kindred, which consisted of two extended families, 6 belonged to the family of Amurum, and 13 to that of Alan. The remaining household belonged to another subdivision (Awai) of the sub-clan (Aswen). The attached genealogical table shows the relationship between the 19 heads of compounds composing the kindred. The second table shows the plan of the village-area. 162

KIBORI VILLAGE AREA.—KINDRED—AMURUM ALAN—SUB-CLAN ASWEN-CLAN 621



[361]

A

(1) Occupied by the political head of the village, his mother, wives, two grown-up sons, their wives and children . (See genealogical table)	Householder Yakuba (Political Chief)
(2) Occupied by the older brother of the village head (who had formerly been village head but resigned owing to old age), wives, son, and son's wives . . .	Kara.
(3) Occupied by a distant paternal cousin of (1), his wives' children, and one brother	Agwabin.
(4) Occupied by sister of (1), her husband and children .	Bamai.
(5) Occupied by son's son of (1), his wife and children . .	Akut.
(6) Occupied by distant paternal cousin of (1), his wife and children.	
(7) Occupied by distant paternal cousin of (3)	Mugu.
(8) Occupied by a man of the Kpaisa sub-clan of the Agbat clan, his wives, children, son, and son's wives . . .	Akut.
(9) Occupied by distant cousin's wife, children, cousin, and cousin's wives and children	Gado.
(10) Occupied by a man of Nje sub-clan of the Agbat clan, his wives and cousin	Jatau.
(11) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), his wives and children	Buhu.

[text continues on p. 15]

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TABLE I

GENEALOGY OF ASWEN KINDRED (AMURUM-ALAN)

6 Amurum
13 Alan

Total = 19

(Those underlined are at present living, and are heads of compounds.)

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621

(12) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), his wives and children — Alhaki.
(13) Occupied by brother of (3), his wives, children, and brother — Sabo.
(14) The *Obwai* shrine
(15) Occupied by distant cousin of (1) — Mugu.
(16) Occupied by distant cousin of (1) and children, son, and son's child — Aje.
(17) Occupied by brother of (16), wives and children — Baita.

B

(1) Occupied by Banho[illegible]ead of the kindred) wife and child — Banhot.
(2) Occupied by dista[illegible]cousin of (1), wives, children, and cousin — Kaza.
(3) Occupied by member of Nje sub-clan, wives, children, son's wives, and children — Go.
(4) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wife, children, and sons wives, and children — Angulu.
(5) Occupied by member of Kagoro tribe, wife, and sons — Agwanjon.
(6) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wives, children, and son — Sambo.
(7) Occupied by distant relative of (1), wife, brother, sisters, their husbands and children — Yakok.
(8) Occupied by distant relative of (1), wife, child, and son — Agwanjon.
(9) Occupied by a member of the Awai sub-clan of Aswen and his children — Sambo.
(10) Occupied by a Kpaisa man (Agbat clan) — Alhaki.
(11) Occupied by a man of the Morwa tribe and his wife and children — Atokan.
(12) Occupied by *Obwai* shrine

592 591

The Household.—The size and composition of the Katab household varies according to circumstances. In its simplest form it consists of the small social group of parents and children, such as in England we should describe as a family. It comes into existence when a son marries, leaves his father's compound, farms on his own account and acquires a family of young children. But as sons may not leave their parents' compound unless the father has other sons to look after him, the normal Katab compound consists of a larger group, viz. parents, sons, and daughters, and sons' wives and their children. On the death of the head of the compound two sons may agree to continue to live and farm together, and the household would then consist of a man and his mother, his wives and children, his brother, and his brother's wives and children. Owing, however, to the extensive system of adoption practised by the Katab, the composition of the household may be more complex and include paternal cousins or nephews. The household is then a purely unilateral grouping, i.e. it consists of patrilineal relatives. But there are exceptions; for it is not uncommon for a household to include a sister's son who belongs, of course, to a different clan, and is debarred

592 [597] [428]

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592 428 from any share in the inheritance should the head of the household die.

597 171 *Adoption.*—A word may be said here about the custom of adoption. In some parts of the world, e.g. the Banks Islands, parents seem to have hardly more right to their children than anybody else. The relationship between parent and child, which we are apt to regard as fundamental in human nature, is not, apparently, so regarded by all other peoples in the world. Katab women, for example, in contracting sub-marriages abandon their weaned children. In Polynesia children may pass into the hands of total strangers whether the parents like it or not; and whether the practice is due to an original state of communism or to some early custom of infanticide or some other social cause need not concern us. In Nigeria it is common among the majority of the tribes for parents to hand over one at least of their offspring to others. A Hausa father, for example, generally delivers up his first-born to his wife's family: a Bade his first child, if a female, to his wife's family, if a male to the father's brother; a Nupe his first child, male or female, to the paternal relatives. A Hausa will even hand over one of his children to a friend who may be no relative at all. Among the Katab it is customary to hand over children to a respected paternal relative who has fewer children than the other or who requires an additional worker on his farm. Male children are not handed over to a maternal relative in this way; but we shall see later that a man has to ransom his second child by a money payment to his wife's parents. Female children are, however, sometimes handed over to the mother's parents; but when such children marry, the mother's parents are not entitled to receive the bride-price.

597 A few instances of random cases actually investigated will illustrate the extent to which adoption is practised.

A. had a family of five sons and three daughters. He gave none of his children to any relatives, as all his relatives had children of their own. None of his relatives gave him any of their children, as he had a sufficient number of children of his own.

B. had a family of five sons and four daughters. As a compliment to his elder brother he handed over his eldest daughter at the age of three. She was given in marriage by the elder brother, and as she has since had four husbands, the elder brother has

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derived considerable benefit, the bride-price in each case having been appropriated by him. B. also handed over one of his sons to his elder brother, as the elder brother had only one son of his own to look after him, and that son was unable by his own farming efforts to provide for the whole household. B. also gave a son to his younger brother who lived in the same compound as B. That younger brother was murdered, and the son has reverted to the custody of his father. B. has, therefore, handed over three of his nine children to relatives. Moreover, he handed over one of his younger brother's orphan children to the care of his (B's) grown-up grandson.

C. had a family of six daughters and two sons. He handed over his eldest daughter to his male ortho-cousin, her economic services being thus placed at the disposal of the cousin's wives. The cousin will arrange the girl's marriage, receive the bride-price, provide the wedding outfit, and again receive the bride-price on each occasion that she remarries. His second daughter was similarly handed over to another ortho-cousin. Both these cousins occupied a separate portion of C's compound. The other children are with C. who has yet another cousin living with him. C. does no farming work himself, and his two eldest boys, therefore, work daily under the direction of this cousin. It is *infra dignitatem* for the head of a large compound to engage personally in agriculture; and this brings us to the subject of the control of the economic resources of the household.

A. may have been 37 years of age—he was certainly not over 40. But having been successful in life, i.e. having a large number of children (which implies capital and the ability to purchase wives), he does no farm work. He relies on his sons whose energies he directs, offering advice as to the extent of the farm required each year, but avoiding all direct interference as regards the disposal of the corn harvested. That is to say, he would never enter his son's granary and help himself to corn. He possesses no granary of his own. One of the sons issues each day the amount of corn required for the whole compound. A. will find for himself the amount of the tax required by the Administration. His sons can find their own from the sale of corn, though A. might say "Do not touch the corn—we may require it all. I will see what I can do on my own initiative".

B. similarly does no farm work. He has two sons who farm

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592 422 together, and each, being married, has his own granary with which B. does not interfere. He and his wives are supported by the sons. B. may have to call on his sons to provide the tax by the sale of corn. But the women of the compound, being the owners of bean farms, and able also to obtain cash by the sale of firewood, may contribute towards the cost of the tax in order to avoid drawing too extensively on the reserves of corn. B., who is not a very old man, and may wish to add to the number of his wives, may direct his sons to sell some of their corn in order to find the bride-price.

C. has three cousins (ortho-cousins) in his compound. Two of these occupy one part of the compound and farm together. These cousins have their own corn granary, and C. would have no claim at all on their corn. If, however, the supplies in his own part of the compound ran short, C. might ask his cousins to help him out of the difficulty. He might even ask his cousins to assist him in the matter of paying tax. But any advances of this kind would be regarded purely and simply as a loan, C. being the senior of the household. On the other hand, if a younger "brother" had to borrow from an elder, the elder would not think of asking his younger brother to repay him later.

C. with a third cousin and their respective families occupies a separate part of the compound. Though he is only 30 years of age, C., being the head of the compound, has given up all farming work, which is carried out by the cousin and C's two sons. They have a common granary, for it is a custom that those who farm together share their corn. The granary is under the control of C's cousin who directs C's son as to the amount of corn that should be issued daily. C. has no say in the matter, but in the event of having to entertain strangers C. may ask the cousin to issue the necessary extra corn. C. may also demand some of the corn harvested by his son to pay his tax.

It will be seen, therefore, that, apart from the natural claim which a father has to be supported by his sons, there is in a Katab household no such thing as a real community of stocks. The head of a compound has no claim on the corn of a brother or cousin who farms by himself, and he does not, therefore, hold himself responsible if the brother or cousin fails to farm sufficient corn to pay his tax.

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The following is a plan of a typical Katab compound :—

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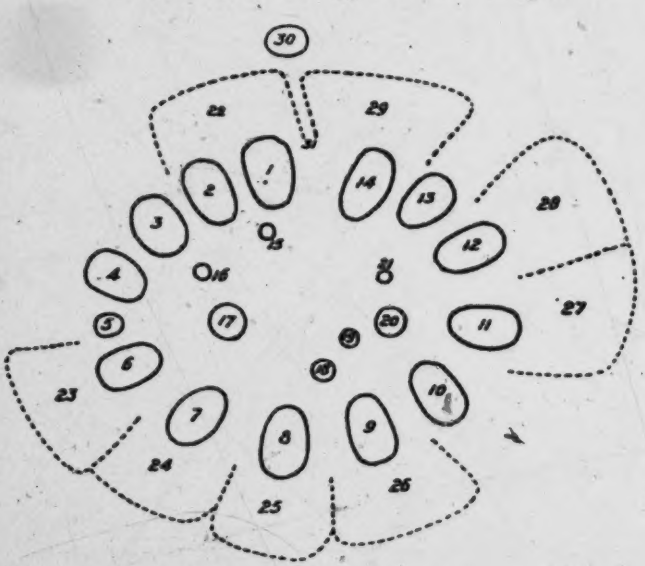

KEY.

(1) Hut of the master of the compound.
(2) Hut of the second wife of the master of the compound.
(3) Empty hut of runaway wife of master of the compound.
(4) Empty hut of runaway wife of master of the compound.
(5) Disused hut built to fill in space between (4) and (6).
(6) Hut of first wife of elder son.
(7) Hut of second wife of elder son.
(8) Hut of mother of the master of the compound.
(9) Hut of first wife of younger son.
(10) Empty hut of younger son's runaway wife.
(11) Hut of second wife of younger son.
(12) Hut of third wife of younger son.
(13) Hut used by master of compound and his two sons as a common meeting room and dining room.
(14) Hut of the principal wife and mistress of the compound.
(15) Small granary containing grain for use of master of the compound.
(16) Small granary containing grain for use of elder son.
(17) Large granary containing grain belonging to elder son.
(18) Goat pen belonging to elder son.
(19) Goat pen belonging to younger son.
(20) Large granary containing grain belonging to younger son.
(21) Small granary containing grain belonging to younger son.
(22–29) Bean gardens of the various wives and of the mother of the master of the compound.

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(30) Hut common to all female members of the compound for grinding grain.
(31) Entrance to compound.

Young male children sleep in mother's hut until age of 5. They then get huts of their own. Female children remain in mother's hut until they marry.

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PLATE 2

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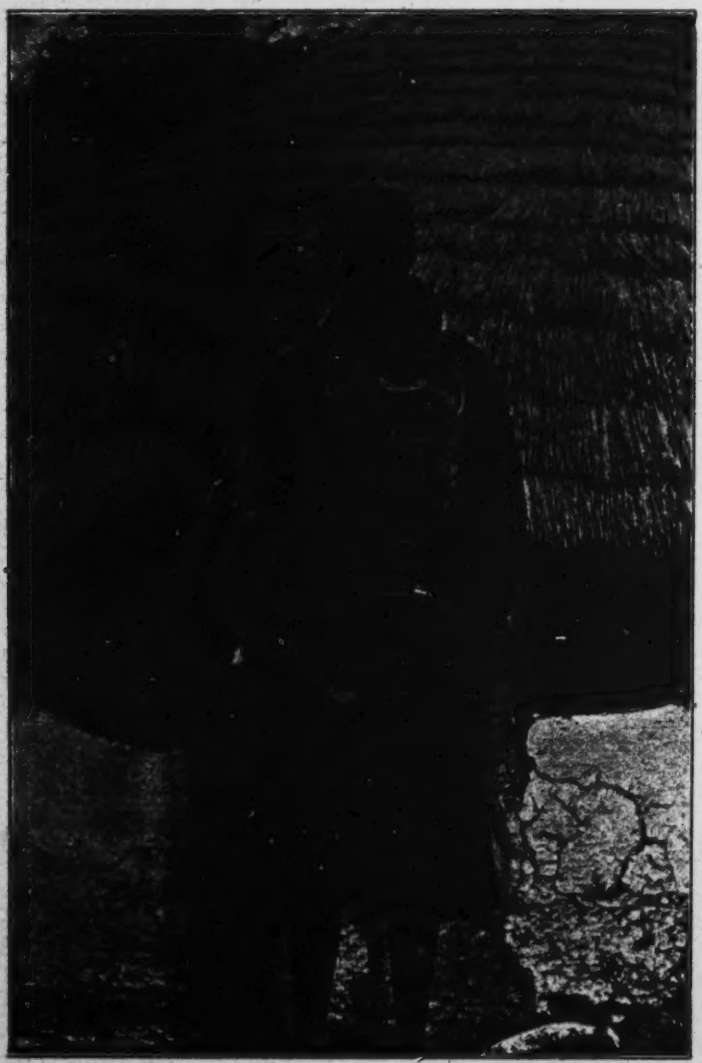

A KATAB WOMAN AND HER CHILD

[See p. 20]

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583 *Types of Marriage.*—The social grouping is intimately bound up with the marriage regulations. For these regulations have either given rise to the clan and sub-clan organization, or are the direct outcome of that organization. They throw a great deal of light on the general question of exogamy, and it will be necessary therefore to study them in some detail. We may begin by observing that there are three main types of marriage :—

(*a*) A man may marry a girl who had not previously been married.

(*b*) He may elope with a married woman.

(*c*) He may marry a widow.

In type (*a*) the marriage is by purchase (which may include agricultural service), the bride-price at present amounting to a total of about £1 plus one goat, which is the perquisite of the bride's mother. The agricultural services rendered to the bride's parents may be assessed at four to seven days' work annually for four to seven years. The marriage is concluded by a ceremony of capture, which is carried out with the connivance of the parents. Until recently capture played a more prominent part, for it was customary in the case of girls obtained from other tribes (but not from other clans) to effect the capture first and compensate the parents afterwards. It was also not uncommon for the member of one sub-clan to capture the fiancée of the member of another sub-clan, who was subsequently compensated, should he elect to resign all claim to the girl. As no man may marry a woman of his own clan, wives of type (*a*) are normally obtained from the villages of neighbouring clans or of adjacent tribes. It happens occasionally, however, that a wife of type (*a*) may be obtained locally; she may be the daughter of a man who has settled in a village belonging to some other clan than his own. It will be convenient to refer to wives of the type (*a*) as *primary* wives.

Type (*b*). The second type of marriage, viz. that contracted with a married woman, is the most outstanding feature of the social life of the Katab and neighbouring tribes. A married woman elopes with another man with whom she may live for any period varying from a year to the rest of her life. It may be objected that this is merely concubinage and not a marriage at all, but if we accept Westermarck's definition of marriage as being a more or less durable connection lasting beyond the

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583 mere act of propagation until after the birth of the offspring, then these runaway unions are, generally speaking, genuine marriages. They are certainly so regarded by the natives; and the lover, after obtaining the woman's consent, has to secure the goodwill of her parents by making money payments (amounting nowadays to 15*s*. plus one goat) which have every [684] appearance of being a bride-price. To elope with a married woman without having made these payments is considered a serious offence.[1]

[851] Children begotten by the secondary husband belong to him. The original husband does not claim compensation for the loss of his wife, for he hopes that she will eventually return to him. A secondary husband, similarly, cannot claim the return of his payments if he in turn is abandoned. A Katab woman may thus in her lifetime have had as many as ten different husbands; but a woman so fickle would be regarded as being little better than a harlot among the more sophisticated tribes. Parents, [626] moreover, who consistently encourage a daughter to change her husband are viewed with contempt. Religious rites are even performed every three years, the object of which is to put a check on excess of elopement marriages.

The system of sub-marriages has been regarded with disfavour by both the Fulani and British administrations, and suggestions have been made and rules introduced for modifying or abrogating the practice, which is clearly a source of trouble to those in authority. We shall see presently, however, that the social organization of the Katab tribe is intimately bound up with the institution of sub-marriages. No regulations affecting the institution should, therefore, be introduced without a full understanding of their probable effect, nor should the opinion of the tribal chiefs themselves be accepted as final in the matter, for they may agree to changes the full effect of which they themselves are unable clearly to foresee.

587 Type (*c*). The third type of marriage is that produced by the inheritance or purchase of a widow. Sons may inherit and marry their father's or grandfather's widows (though marriages with the grandfather's widows are necessarily of rare occurrence)

[1] In the case of wives obtained *from neighbouring tribes* (capture or arrangement with the woman) the woman's parents were not consulted, though a bride-price might subsequently be paid.

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587 and both the junior and senior levirate are practised. A man may, in addition to his brother's widow, inherit the widow of his father's brother's son. But the inheritance of a maternal uncle's widows is not permissible among the Katab (though it is among their Gwari neighbours). It should be noted in connection with inheritance that secondary wives are heritable equally with primary wives, and that heritors are entitled to endeavour to recover the runaway wives of the person from whom they inherit without making payments to the women's parents.

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582 *Marriage and Social Groupings.*—The fundamental feature in the social organization of the tribes is that no man may contract any form of marriage with any woman of his own clan. Descent is reckoned patrilineally. No man, therefore, may marry by purchase or elope with a woman whose father belongs to the same clan as himself. Thus a male of the Fakan sub-clan may not marry a female of the Fakan sub-clan, nor yet a female of the Aswen sub-clan, as Fakan and Aswen are moieties of the Minyam clan. In this connection it is important to remember that groups of immigrants have in some cases been adopted into a clan, and where this has happened the exogamous rule is applicable. No Fakan, for example, may marry a girl of the village of Magamiya, for the people of Magamiya, though belonging to a different tribe (viz. Ikulu), have been adopted by the Aswen sub-clan, and are therefore reckoned by the Fakan as fellow clansmen (i.e. as Minyam).

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We have thus a well-developed system of clan exogamy among the Katab which is worthy of note; for it would seem that in the majority of Nigerian tribes marriage is regulated by consanguinity considerations rather than by the clan mechanism. Consanguinity is, of course, a bar to marriage among the Katab, for not only is intermarriage with the father's kin totally prohibited (by the clan organization), but inter-marriage with the social group of the mother is also prohibited to this extent that a man, though he may marry into his mother's clan, must avoid marriage with close blood relatives of his mother. All cousin marriages are taboo.

582 We now come to the consideration of the rules governing the contraction of sub-marriages. We may begin by stating that
583 no man may elope with (*a*) a married woman who is a member of his own clan or closely related to his mother, (*b*) the wife of

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a member of the household from whom he has already obtained a primary wife, (*c*) the wife of a member of his own kindred or local group. (*a*) has already been dealt with. The objection to (*b*) is obvious and would be summed up by the Katab in the statement that you cannot marry a girl and then marry her "mother" too. As regards (*c*) the prohibition against elopement with the wife of a member of one's local group appears to be dependent on the principle that it is inadvisable to make an enemy of one's next-door neighbour. For the same reason, no doubt, elopement with the wife of a member of one's own kindred is prohibited, a rule which suggests that if marriage by capture was the original form of marriage, exogamy may have been the outcome of the desire to avoid local conflict, and may have had nothing to do with such feelings as the fear of consanguinity or a dislike of mating with women with whom one lives in daily contact. The practice of wife-stealing, coexistent with the practice of consanguineous marriages, would certainly create an impossible position in any society.

The rule that no one may elope with the wife of a member of his own kindred or local group has its counterpart in the prohibition of elopement marriages between the two largest clans, viz. Minyam and Agbat. That is to say, a Minyam man may not contract a sub-marriage with the wife of an Agbat man and vice versa, even although by contracting such a marriage he does not infringe the rule of clan exogamy. But a Minyam or Agbat man may contract a sub-marriage with the wife of a member of the Aku or Shokwa clans, provided he does not infringe the rule of clan exogamy. Members of the Minyam and Agbat clans state that the reason why they abstain from eloping with each others' wives is that "a man may not marry his mother-in-law", which is merely another way of stating that it is improper to steal wives from a community whose daughters you are permitted to marry. But if this is so, why do Minyam and Agbat both steal the daughters and elope with the wives of the Aku and Shokwa clans (and also of neighbouring tribes)? The answer given is that the Aku and Shokwa clans are responsible, and that it is time that these two clans confined their wife-stealing energies to sub-divisions of their own clans (which may be a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument). Aku and Shokwa state that they are not yet sufficiently numerous to

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582 583 614 abandon the practice of eloping with wives of other clans, and this would appear to be a genuine explanation, for if a clan has, like Shokwa, no subdivision larger than two localized kindreds, between whom wife-stealing would be impossible, then the members are compelled to seek secondary wives outside the limits of the clan. The real reason why Minyam and Agbat abstain from eloping with each other's wives is that the majority of the primary wives of Minyam men are Agbat women and vice versa.[1] If, therefore, a Minyam man were to elope with the wife of an Agbat man he would be eloping with a member of his own clan. There would, however, be no theoretical reason why a Minyam man should not elope with the wife of an Agbat man, provided she did not belong to the Minyam clan. The prohibition possibly dates back to a time when Minyam and Agbat formed two exogamous divisions of a single clan, and all the wives of Minyam men were Agbat women and vice versa.

582 583 613 The next point to observe is that, although extra-clan elopements are forbidden to Minyam and Agbat,[2] inter-clan elopements are the normal rule between the subsections of these clans, e.g. in the Agbat clan, which consists of the subclans Kwak, Kpaisa, and Nje, a man of Kwak may steal the wife of a man of Kpaisa, and a man of Kpaisa may steal the wife of a man of Nje, and so on. This is indeed so much the normal procedure that a member of one sub-clan refers to a member of another as his *nungvan* or "wife-abductor". Similarly in the Minyam clan, which has two sub-clans, viz. Fakan and Aswen, a Fakan man may not marry an Aswen girl, but he may contract a sub-marriage with the wife of an Aswen man. If, however, a member of one sub-clan goes to reside in the village of another sub-clan of his own clan the normal rules permitting marriages by elopement are in abeyance. To take an example, if an Aswen man of the Minyam clan goes to reside at a Fakan village (Minyam clan) he is not entitled to elope with the wife of anyone in that village. As already observed, elopement marriages create a feeling of hostility, and it is considered undesirable that fighting should take place within the local group. It is possible that the whole system of clan exogamy is the outcome of the desire to

[1] A Minyam man need not necessarily marry an Agbat girl as a primary wife, and vice versa. He may marry a girl of the Aku or Shokwa clan, or of some other tribe.

[2] Aku and Shokwa being small clans practise extra-clan elopements.

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avoid hostility between neighbouring groups. The residents of one group elope with or abduct the wives of residents of a neighbouring group, and vice versa. Hostility results, and in time the group agrees to abandon wife-stealing,[1] and to exchange daughters instead. A man is thus debarred from marrying the daughters of his own community, as they are required for the neighbouring community. This process becomes extended to other communities, and all the communities become in time merged into a single exogamous clan. We can see this process at work among the Katab and neighbouring tribes. It may be objected that among the Katab we have a clear example of a reverse process, for within the clan we have sub-clans which elope with each others' wives. But the answer would appear to be that the sub-clans are in process of becoming clans, and will eventually abandon the stealing of wives from each other. There was clear evidence of this tendency in the statement made by several men of the Nje sub-clan that they would prefer to give up the practice of eloping with the wives of the men of Kpaisa and marry their daughters instead, and that they were only prevented from carrying this suggestion into practice by the old men of the two sub-clans concerned, who would, of course, regard the proposal as incestuous.

There is a further factor which tends to induce groups which practise elopement marriages to give up the practice, and that is the frequent uncertainty as to the paternity of a child born to a runaway wife. The Katab have numerous rules for meeting this difficulty (as will be seen later), but a margin of uncertainty still remains, and it may well be on this account that a clan organization tends to spring into existence, or, where it is already in existence, that sections of a clan each tend to become separate clans.

When we come to the sub-divisions of the sub-clan we find considerable variations, elopement marriages being sometimes permissible and sometimes not. Thus in the Aswen sub-clan, which consists of the following groups, each occupying its own territory, (*a*) Alan-Amurum, (*b*) Yagofo, (*c*) Awai, (*d*) Magamiya, and (*e*) Kofo, (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*e*) refrain from eloping with each others' wives, and this rule even applies to women who were formerly wives of (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), or (*e*), and have since gone elsewhere.

[1] For instances of this see later notes on the Kagoro tribe.

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582 All abduct the wives of (*d*), and vice versa. Both Magamiya and
583 Kofo are of foreign origin, but no reason was assigned for the
612 difference in treatment accorded to each. It is said that in bygone days (*a*) and (*b*) used to abduct the wives of (*c*), but the practice was abandoned when (*c*) became numerically strong. (*a*) and (*b*) have at no time eloped with each others' wives, because they consider themselves to be blood-relatives. In the sub-clan of Fakan the only communities which may elope with each others' wives are the towns of Zonzon and Sako. But the Bobai kindred of Zonzon will not elope with the wife of any Sako man, and vice versa, on the ground of blood-relationship. There does not appear to be any wife abduction between the sub-divisions of Shokwa. As regards Aku, the Akuzan and Akuchan do not elope with each others' wives, but I omitted to obtain information as to the conduct of these two sections towards the third section, viz. Asalio.

601 *Terms of Relationship and Social Regulations.*—The terms of relationship of the Katab tribe are given in the following lists. The terms are used by both males and females, except where otherwise stated :—

Atio is applied to a father, father's brothers, mother's brothers (for whom the term *angat* is also used), father's and mother's sister's husband, husband's father, husband's father's brother, and husband's mother's brother.

Ayang is applied to a mother, father's sisters, mother's sisters, father's and mother's brother's wife, husband's mother, father's co-wife.

Ngwan is applied to a son, daughter, brother's child, sister's child, husband's brother's child, wife's brother's child, husband's sister's child, wife's sister's child, brother's son's wife.

Nanyuk is applied to full or half-brothers and sisters, father's brother's child, father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, mother's sister's child. It is also a general term for " relative ". Elder and younger brothers (or sisters), are distinguished by the terms *nkwop* (or *neokwop*) and *shisho*. The term *ngwanaiyuk*, i.e. child of my brother (or sister), is a more particular term to describe nephews and nieces.

Atio-kwop is applied to father's or mother's father, father's mother's brother, father's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, mother's father's brother. The term *nungvanu* or " wife stealer " is also applied by a male to all relatives classed as *atiokwop* and they apply that term to him. A female applies the term *atuok* or " husband " to all relatives classed as *atiokwop* and they apply to her the term *aviyuk* or " wife ".

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Ayang-okwop is applied to a father's or mother's mother, father's father's sister, father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister. The term *aviyuk* or "wife" is also applied by a male to all relatives classed as *ayangowhop* and, they apply to them the term of *atuok* or "husband". A female applies the term *ofob* or "rival wife" to all relatives classed as *ayangowhop*, and they apply the same term to her.

Kambwon is the general term for grandchild, e.g. a son's or daughter's child (m. or f.), brother's son's or daughter's child, sister's son's or daughter's child.

Aniat is applied to a daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband.

Angat (*ayat*) is a special term applicable to a mother's brother or father, who use the term *kanio* for a sister's or daughter's child.

Aniang is applied to a son's wife or sister's son's wife.

Okwang is applied to a wife's father or mother, and their brothers and sisters.

Yekwop is applied to a husband's father or mother, and their brothers and sisters.

Ojam is applied to a wife's brother or sister, a wife's sister's husband, and a sister's husband.

Ashin is applied to a husband's brother or sister and a brother's wife.

Ofob is applied to rival wife, husband's brother's wife, all females classed by a woman as *kambwon* or *ayangokwop*.

Aviyuk is applied to a wife, a brother's wife (male speaking), all females classed by a man as *kambwon* or *ayangokwop*, a husband's grandfather.

Atuok is applied to a husband, husband's brother, all relatives classed by a woman as *atiokwop* and all males classed by a woman as *kambwon*.

It is noteworthy that the terms *ojam*, *ashin*, *nungvan*, and *ofob* are used reciprocally, and that a son's wife's parents and daughter's husband's parents are addressed simply by their personal names. Also that, while a woman addresses her parents-in-law as mother and father, a man may not address his parents-in-law in this way. The large number of terms used for the "in-law" relations is also remarkable and possibly indicates impact with a foreign culture. (In Bolewa and Hausa, etc., a single term covers all senior relatives by marriage.) Descriptive terms are used in order to make the precise relationship clear. Thus a father's brother, who would ordinarily be referred to as *atie-nu* "my father"), would be more precisely described as *nanyuk atienu* (i.e. "brother of my father").

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It will be observed that the Katab system of relationship terminology is of the classificatory type; that is to say that all

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601 relatives of the speaker's own generation (viz. brothers, sisters, cousins) are classed together as *nanyuk*, those of the generation above (viz. father, mother, their brothers, sisters, and cousins) as *atio* (fem. *-ayang*), those of the generation below (viz. sons, daughters, and their several cousins) as *ngwan*, and so on. This system of classification by seniority is not confined to blood relatives, but is applied generally to all members of the clan,[1] who consider themselves kin by virtue of descent from a common ancestor. Thus an Aku will address any other Aku who is of a senior generation as *atio* (or father), of a generation below as *ngwan* (son), of two generations below as *kambwon* (grandchild), of two generations above as *atiohwop* (grandfather), and of the same generation as *nanyuk*, a term which carries with it a prohibition of intermarriage. It is interesting to note here that one effect of elopement marriages is that half-brothers by the same mother may sometimes belong to different clans, and that the term *nanyuk* is thus sometimes applicable to a person who is not a fellow-clansman.

601 582 [587] Further, the relationship terminology is fundamentally influenced by the existing social relations. The application by a man of the term *aviyuk* or "wife" to his brother's wife or his grandfather's widow implies that those relatives are marriageable, as is actually the case, for both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and the inheritance of a paternal grandfather's widow is permissible, though of rare occurrence. (It is to be noted, however, that though a grandfather addresses a granddaughter as "wife" he cannot nowadays, if he ever could, marry her; and also that, although a man may inherit his father's widow, other than his own mother, he cannot address his father's wife as *aviyuk* or "wife". Marriageability is not, therefore, always indicated by the nomenclature. The term *nungvan* or "wife abductor", which males apply to all their grandsons, is also clearly a playful reference to the custom which permits a man to inherit the young widow of his paternal grandfather, excluding, of course, the mother of his own father. On the same principle the term *nungvan* is applied by males of one sub-clan to males of another sub-clan (of their own clan), for any male of one sub-clan may abduct the wife of any male of

[1] But clan groups between whom elopement with wives is practised use the special terminology indicated in the following paragraph.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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another sub-clan (of his own clan). The playmate relationship does not, therefore, subsist between two men of different divisions of the same clan, for men who are *nungvan* to one another are not on too friendly terms. And so a Fakan of the Minyam clan will never engage in a "Shero"[1] contest with an Aswen of the Minyam clan, but he will with a Kpaisa of the Agbat clan. Again a member of one clan calls any member of another, who is of the same seniority, his *ojam*, i.e. wife's brother (or sister), because he may marry into that clan. If the member of the other clan is of a senior generation he would describe him as *okwang* or parent-in-law. When certain members of the Agbat and Minyam clans were asked how they would describe the Aku and Shokwa clans, who both marry the daughters and steal the wives of members of other clans, they said they would apply the term *ojam* or *nungvan* according to the circumstances of the individual case.

The word for great-grandson if *kambonto*, which seems to mean "third birth". But he is also known as *tabar fufwo* or "touch the ear", an expression similar to that found among the Hausa and Ashanti. The meaning of this expression is obscure, and no explanation could be offered by the Katab. It is possibly to be explained in the following remark by M. Junod in writing of the Ba-Ronga[2]: "A very old man holds his son in his arms, his grandson on his thigh, and his great-grandson on his knees," the Katab reversing the order, so that the great-grandson plays with the old man's ear. This would not explain the Ashanti belief that a touch on the ear by a great-grandson causes speedy death, and it may be that the expression is the outcome of some sociological custom, which may be discovered by inquiries among other tribes. It is noteworthy that, although a man and his grandfather are playmates, a man and his great-grandfather are not.

The classification of the mother's father with the mother's brother under the common term of *angat* is natural to the Katab, who scarcely differentiate between these two relatives. For he can go to their compound and appropriate whatever he pleases from either, and if he is ill he may take up his abode with them until his health is restored. M. Junod notes that among the

[1] See p. 58.
[2] Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 222.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Ronga of South Africa, although there are two separate terms for mother's father and mother's brother, they are frequently confused by the native in conversation. The confusion or rather identification is merely the result of the tendency to extend to a group the type of behaviour which is manifested towards one particular member of that group.

A word may be said here about the Katab custom of marriage with the widow of a grandfather and father, to which reference has already been made. Marriage with the grandfather's widow does not appear to be connected with reincarnation ideas, nor to have followed in the wake of a former grandfather-granddaughter marriage system of which there is no evidence among the Katab or any other Nigerian tribe, unless we are to make the precarious assumption that such marriages must have existed at one time because a Katab grandfather to-day addresses his grand-daughter as "wife". It appears to be the result merely of the conception of women as heritable property. Marriage with the grandfather's widow is common in Africa and in parts of Melanesia. It is even found among some of the Muslim peoples of Nigeria in the form known as "auren salla", though in this type of marriage the intention appears merely to secure old women from being left destitute, for no sexual relations take place. Among the Katab and neighbouring tribes marriage with the grandfather's widow is confined to young widows of the paternal grandfather or his brothers, and is of course exclusive of the father's mother. It is a marriage of such rare occurrence that I was only able to obtain two instances at second-hand. Interesting relationships are set up by such marriages, e.g. a man may be another's grand-nephew and half-brother at the same time. When asked whether such a person would call the other *atiohwop* (grandfather) or *nanyuk* (brother), the answer was interesting, and was that he could do either as grandfathers and brothers are on precisely the same social footing, a fact which is one of the most noteworthy features of negro life and is exemplified in the playmate relationship, the common sharing of meals, and various other social regulations. A woman even calls her husband's grandfather "husband".

Instances of the inheritance of the father's (or father's brother's) widow are of more frequent occurrence, and the way in which the relationship terminology is affected as

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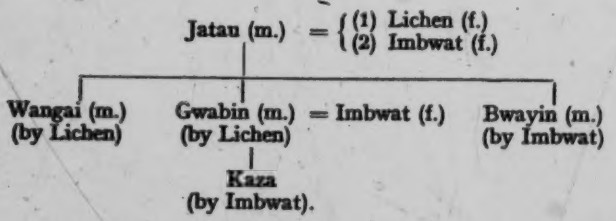
a result of such inheritance is illustrated in the following example :— 587 601



On the death of his father (Jatau), Gwabin inherited Imbwat, and begat a son Kaza. Bwayin thus occupied the double position of being Kaza's paternal uncle and also his half-brother by the same mother. How did Kaza address Bwayin? The answer was that although Kaza might refer to Bwayin as *nanyuk* (brother) he was bound to address him as *atio* (father) on the ground (*a*) that Bwayin might succeed Gwabin one day as head of Kaza's household, (*b*) that Kaza might one day inherit Bwayin's widow, and (*c*) that Bwayin may not "play" with Kaza's wife. Gwabin, who has now become the husband of Bwayin's mother, continues to call Bwayin his "brother" (*nanyuk*). On the other hand, Wangai, who formerly called Imbwat *ayang* or "mother", now calls her *aviyuk* or "wife", and if Gwabin dies he may inherit her. It is noteworthy that a man addresses his father's co-wife as "mother" until he inherits her. This does not bear out Dr. Rivers' contention that the fact that men address one another as parents and children provides the clearest of all possible indications that they are ineligible as consorts in marriage.[1] [114]

Before leaving the subject of the relationship terminology, a few words may be said about the playmate relationship and the use of personal names. The playmate relationship is a social institution found among many primitive peoples, notably those of Africa, Melanesia, and North America. It is practised among certain classes of relatives between whom the strict rules of etiquette governing social intercourse are so relaxed that they display towards one another an attitude of joking familiarity. In Nigeria and among most Negro peoples the principal relatives 602 603

[1] *History of Melanesian Society*, ii, 39.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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602 603 [605] who stand to each other in this relationship are usually grandparents and grandchildren (in the classificatory sense), and certain relatives by marriage (e.g. a man and his wife's younger brother). Ortho-cousins are not, as a rule, "playmates," but cross-cousins frequently are. Among the Katab a playmate is known as *pandang shong* (or *pandang dunu*, or *tabunu*). A grandchild is *pandang shong* with his father's or mother's parents and their brothers and sisters. If he goes to his grandfather's house the latter will say: "Well, what has brought you here; have you come to try and rob me of my wife?" To which he will reply: "She is my wife, not yours; you are too old." His grandmother will then join in and say: "Yes, but you are no good as a husband, you have no money and no grain in your granary; you can scarcely support yourself, much less a wife!" And so the banter goes on. Remarks of this character are exchanged between the lad and his maternal grandparents as well as his paternal grandparents, though he cannot inherit the widow of a maternal grandparent. Similarly, a man is playmate with the mother of his father, though he cannot inherit and marry her. A grandson may appropriate any articles of property which are not too valuable from his paternal grandfather. A 602 607 Katab, again, is a playmate of his brother's wife, whom indeed he salutes as "wife" and will twit with some such remark as "You are very good at cooking food for your husband, and yet you cook nothing at all for me; am I not your husband too?" To which she will reply, "Oh, very well, I'll see what I can do, husband of mine!" He may then say: "I, your husband! and yet you are going off to sleep with your husband and leave me to a lonely bed!" These remarks are made possible by the practice of the senior and junior levirate marriage. A potential marriage-relationship does not, however, always connote a playmate-relationship, for it would be considered highly indecent for a man to address any of his father's co-wives in the manner just described, even though one day he may enter into marital relations with her.

602 [605] A Katab appears to be, to some extent, on playmate terms with all his cousins,[1] but he will never play with a female cousin whose potential guardian he is, that is to say, whom he will one day give in marriage. This is noteworthy as showing that

[1] But ortho-cousins are only playmates in a modified sense.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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the playmate relationship is sometimes dependent on a potential social relationship. The playmate relationship may exist between a man and his wife's brother's wife, but only if she belongs to some clan other than his own; for a woman of the same clan is a sister, and the joking relationship with a sister is not permissible.

As regards the use of personal names, the general rule is that no one of the generation immediately senior may be addressed by his personal name. Thus a man may not address by their personal names his father or father's brothers and cousins, his father's wives, his mother and her brothers and cousins, though he may so address his grandparents and their brothers and cousins. A son may, however, call his father by a personal name of his own invention, and a mother by the new name bestowed on her by her husband at marriage.

Parents-in-law are not addressed by their personal names; but this rule appears to be relaxed frequently between a man and his father-in-law, as the taboo between these two relatives appears to be of a less strict character than that subsisting between a man and his mother-in-law and a woman and her parents-in-law. The taboo between a man and his mother-in-law is so strict that he will leave the road when he sees her coming; and not merely does he avoid the use of her personal name, but she avoids his also. It may be of interest to describe here a meeting witnessed between a man aged sixty and the parents of his young wife. He had travelled a long distance to see them. He went down on his knees before his mother-in-law and bent his head, murmuring, "Akwaiya akwangnu—are you well, mother-in-law?" To which she replied: "Ungwanu ka kwa sha sham?" (Is my daughter well?). The mother-in-law also asked after the welfare of her daughter's child, and there the conversation finished. The son-in-law withdrew, and then dispatched a boy to his mother-in-law with a gift of a bag of salt, as modesty would have prevented his handing it to her personally. He then sought out his father-in-law, with whom there was much less restraint. After the formal greetings he handed his father-in-law a gift of several pounds of tobacco and had a lengthy evening's conversation with him. When it came to the time of the evening meal, however, each ate his meal by himself in the company of a young boy of the household.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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551 576 604 Many Katab appear to use the personal name of the father's sister, a custom which would be regarded as shocking by many other tribes. The reason given was that she lives at a distance, and also that the speaker may one day stand to her in the relation of guardian, i.e. he may have the disposal of her hand in marriage. Otherwise, however, a man has little claim on his father's sister's household, and cannot exercise the privileges there which he can in the house of his mother's brother.

551 576 607 Though a woman may be inherited by her husband's elder brother she may not address him by his personal name, for if he is not actually the head of the family he is so potentially. But he may address her by her personal name. Per contra, it was stated that a man may use the personal name of his wife's elder brother.

604 *Mother-right.*—The traditions of the Katab connect them with a locality (viz. Kahugu) where there is to-day at least one mother-right tribe, and it is interesting, therefore, to note here any customs which might suggest that the tribe in former times belonged to a mother-right group. But it is not suggested that the following data necessarily imply a former condition of mother-right, for it is possible that customs which are commonly assumed to point to mother-right conditions are capable of explanation in other ways. We have seen that, although the mother's brother has a special title, he is nevertheless classed as 604 *atio* or father. This is natural, for we have already said that if 753 a Katab falls ill he usually goes and lives with his mother's 574 relatives. Why? There is a ready explanation. Sickness is commonly attributed to witchcraft or the machination of persons [754] who are evilly disposed. By removing yourself from the locality you are removing yourself from local poisonous influences which are often ascribed to the activity of jealous half-brothers or their mothers. And so we find the custom, which is common among both pagan and Muslim tribes, of a sick man taking refuge with his mother's family. The uterine nephew is, in fact, the object 604 of special care all through his career on the part of his uncle, who is a kind of second father or "male mother".[1] He not infrequently goes to live with his mother's brother if the latter has no one to help him on his farm, and in such a case would,

[1] Among many Nigerian tribes a person will say that his maternal uncle "bore" him.

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on the uncle's death, receive a share of the inheritance. In the ordinary course, however, the sister's son never inherits, though he enjoys numerous privileges during the uncle's lifetime. When he visits his uncle's home he may appropriate any of the latter's property. He has a good deal of say in the disposal of the hand of his uncle's female child, and may receive the bride-price (though he would hand over a proportion to his uncle). In bygone days when he obtained a human head he took it to his maternal uncle, who gave gifts to his nephew and had the head cleaned of flesh. Similarly, the head of every animal killed during a hunt was handed over to the maternal uncle, the head being regarded as a principal part; "for can an animal live without its head?" an appropriate remark for a head-hunting tribe. The maternal uncle could not, among the Katab (as he could among sections of the neighbouring tribe), sell or pawn his sister's son in time of stress. The lad's father or paternal uncle alone could take this extreme measure. The practices described do not in themselves imply any condition of a former mother-right. It is perfectly natural that a boy should regard his mother's home as his own second home, and that when he visits it he should be a welcome and privileged person; for his visits are necessarily infrequent, as he has to make a considerable journey in order to reach his mother's village. That a boy is not allowed to appropriate his paternal uncle's property in the same way as that of his maternal uncle is easily understood, as he lives in daily contact with his paternal uncle. We can also understand that he has fewer privileges in the home of his father's sister, for that home is controlled by the father's sister's husband, who sees no reason why inroads should be made on his property by his wife's nephew. It is interesting to note that females are not privileged to appropriate property from the maternal uncle in the same way as males; but a maternal uncle provides his niece with numerous gifts at marriage.

More suggestive of a former condition of mother-right is the Katab custom that the first two children of a man and a woman who was married as a virgin have to be formally handed over to the wife's family group. The first child is taken, two months after its birth, to the home of the wife's parents, who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father

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or brother, who then delivers him back to the husband, saying: "Take this child in full payment of the labour which you, in your suitor days, expended on my farm." The second child has to be redeemed, at the present day, by a money payment of 7*s.*, which is regarded as compensation to the wife's parents for expenditure incurred on her marriage trousseau. If the payment were not made the wife's parents could retain the child, a custom found among the Matabele of South Africa. In the case of offspring born to a secondary wife (i.e. one who had eloped) it is the first child that has to be redeemed by the money payment of 7*s.*, and there is no claim on a second child. The reason for this is obvious, viz. that the husband of a secondary wife had performed no agricultural service on the farm of his parents-in-law. Among the neighbouring Kachichere tribe every child has to be redeemed from the mother's family. There is a fixed scale of cash payment to-day, viz. 5*s.* for the first child, 4*s.* for the second, 3*s.* for the third, and so on. (Compare the Hausa custom of "Kworia nono" and see Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*.)

These customs throw, perhaps, more light on the subject of the bride-price than they do on that of mother-right.[1] A woman who has proved her fertility is considered to be worth more than one who has not. The original bride-price has therefore to be supplemented when children are born. In this connection we are reminded of one of the laws of Hammurabi, which required that the bride-price should revert to the husband if the wife died without having borne him children.

The Katab custom of waiving the redemption payment on account of agricultural service rendered may indicate that marriage by capture was in earlier times the normal mode of marriage. The further custom of redeeming the second child for a payment, which is regarded as compensation for the girl's trousseau, is an interesting link between the bride-price and what may be regarded as a dowry, and also indicates that the claim on children may have had nothing to do with an inherent mother-right system, but was regarded merely as compensation for the loss at marriage of a daughter's services, and for the expense of fitting her out.

[1] For further data on this subject the reader is referred to the paper on the Mumuye-speaking peoples, vol. i, ch. viii.

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Descent is patrilineal; but we have already noted that children often respect the clan emblem of their mother as well as of their father; and it may be for this reason that the Fakan sub-clan, who freely intermarry with the Agbat, have come to adopt the crocodile emblem of the Agbat clan. As regards the attitude displayed by children to their respective parents, Katab children are not over-respectful to their fathers. They look after their mothers' interests zealously, and think little of striking their fathers on their mothers' behalf, which is not surprising in a state of society where polygyny has run riot.

Inheritance.—Inheritance is patrilineal. In the exceptional case already noted, a sister's son may receive a share of his maternal uncle's property; and a case came to my notice of a man inheriting his maternal grandfather's widow. The general rule, however, is that a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins, according to the circumstances and character of the inheritance. Females do not inherit from males, husbands do not inherit from wives, parents do not inherit from their children, and grandchildren do not inherit from their grandparents (with the single exception that a grandson may inherit his paternal grandfather's young widow).

If a man dies, and he was the holder of a title, the title passes to the next senior brother or paternal cousin, if he is considered a suitable person to hold the office. But his property passes to his grown-up sons, among whom it is divided in comparatively equal shares. If the children are young they pass under the guardianship of the deceased's brother or cousin, who would take them to his compound (provided he had a separate compound) and would there care for them until they had reached an age of discretion, when they would be reinstalled in their father's compound under the protection of the eldest son. If he had no sons of his own the brother who had inherited might retain one of the deceased's younger sons to look after him in his old age. Again, if the deceased's children are under age, his widows are inherited by his younger brothers or cousins, provided the widows offer no objection. He would take them off to his own compound, or he might keep one and hand another over to a brother or cousin according to the wishes of the deceased. If, however, the widows had sons who were old enough to farm they would remain with their children in their late husband's

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768 587 compound, and the brother (or brothers) would come and sleep with them at night. It is clear that one of the results, and perhaps indeed one of the objects, of levirate marriage is the maintenance of the bond between a mother and her young children.

Grown-up sons inherit their father's widows, provided that the widows have no grown-up children living in the compound, i.e. a man may not inherit the mother of a half-brother who is old enough to farm. Though grown-up sons normally inherit their father's widows, it must be remembered that the inheritance of a grandfather's widows is also permitted. This happens where the young widows of an old man prefer being married to the grandson rather than to the son. The son would usually be agreeable to such an arrangement, but the preference of the widows for the grandson rather than the son might cause such resentment on the part of the son that he would order the widows to leave the family altogether.

428 As regards other forms of property, these are divided equally among grown-up sons, the eldest son being the adminstrator. Thus cash would be divided equally. If the deceased left a horse, the eldest son might retain it for himself, or exchange it for goats which he would share with his younger brothers. The eldest son would inherit his father's gown; but his father's cloth, an emblem of seniority among the Katab, would probably pass to a brother or cousin of the deceased, unless the son were himself so old that he was entitled to wear a cloth. As regards standing crops and grain in the granary, the eldest son would, if old enough, take charge and divide it with those of his younger [429] brothers who farm on their own account. If the sons are too young to inherit the various kinds of property enumerated above, the property is held in trust for them by their father's brother or paternal cousin, who restores it when they reach the age of discretion or gives them the equivalent, either in kind or by meeting the marriage expenses of his wards. The deceased's liabilities are met on the same principle, i.e. the eldest son (or, if he is too young, the younger brother) makes the necessary arrangements before dividing up the inheritance. Females cannot inherit from males; and so the property of a man who has daughters but no sons passes to his brother, or, failing him, to his brother's son. Husbands inherit nothing from their wives, and it was said that a husband would not even eat any

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PLATE 3

AN OLD WOMAN

A KATAB MOTHER

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of the goat killed at his wife's funeral. But sons inherit from their mother all but purely feminine forms of property, which pass to her daughters or to her sons' wives. Thus the eldest son inherits all cash left by his mother, and also all her debts, the husband not being held responsible for these. The son inherits her bean farm and passes it on to his wife. He also inherits her goats; but cooking utensils and feminine ornaments pass to her daughter, if she is old enough for marriage, or to her son's wives.

Birth and Marriage Ceremonies.—When a married woman conceives her first child the event is celebrated, four months after conception, by a feast provided by the husband, who invites all his own and his wife's relatives. Large quantities of beer are consumed and hopes are expressed that the woman will be safely delivered of a sturdy child. A leech is sometimes called in during pregnancy to administer medicine, but pregnancy does not involve a state of taboo and no religious rites are performed such as we find in the neighbouring tribe of the Berom, where the husband shaves the wife's head and leads her blindfold to the cave of the priest of Mbon. The Katab woman counts the months of her pregnancy by putting a circular dot of red earth on her thigh for the first month, two for the second, and so on. And so if you see a woman with five red dots on her legs or body you will know that she has been enceinte for five months. The husband keeps his own tally secretly, in case his wife runs off before she gives birth.

The woman does not, as among most tribes, go to her mother's home to bear her first child; but after the confinement she takes her new-born babe to her own home and remains there for three or four months, the reason given being that she will be better cared for among her own people than in her husband's home. During the confinement she is attended by wives of her husband's father or brother, but modesty would forbid the presence of the husband's mother. She is delivered sitting on a stone or on the wooden tray on which she is accustomed to carry head loads. The tray thereafter bears a semi-sacred character and a Katab woman will often swear an oath on her tray saying: "If I did so-and-so may I die with my next child." Should the babe be dilatory in beginning to breathe, a hoe is beaten with a piece of iron to rouse its energy. The umbilical cord is severed with a razor at about an inch from the

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844 [824] base. The cord was in former times planted with a seed yam and the spot marked. When the yam grew up it was pounded and given to the child to eat, in the belief that it would add to his strength. The stump of the cord is licked constantly for a few days by the midwife, who uses mouthfuls of hot water. No beliefs are attached to the placenta, which is buried at the 845 847 back of the house. Twins are not considered unlucky. Nor are albinoes. But idiotic or deformed children were taken to the bush and abandoned. The mother's abdomen is swathed in 853 [171] string bandages, which she continues to wear throughout the weaning period, the intention being to preserve the figure. She also keeps her body regularly smeared with red earth, as this is believed to be good for her milk. This custom is widespread in Nigeria, being found, e.g. among the Kare-kare of Bornu. The original object of the practice was probably to ward off evil influences, but it serves as a public announcement that she is weaning a child, an announcement which is advisable, as a [833] woman may not have sexual relations during the lactation period, which among the Katab is reckoned as three years, a rule which must act as a check on sub-marriages.

553 A name for the child may be chosen by the father, mother, or relative. There is no fixed rule. A friend, or even a stranger staying in the house at the time of the birth, may ask that his name may be given to the child. Parents commonly confer the names of dead relatives, such as a grandfather or grandmother's or father's brother. Or the name given may have reference to some accidental circumstance at the time of birth. Thus a man called his daughter "Matan Malam", i.e. wife of a "malam"[1] because a "malam" was staying in his house on the day she was born. He called another daughter "Ladi" because she was born on Sunday.[2] One mother called her third daughter Kadayinkina, "You know I was right", as a reproof to a rival wife. Some common names are Ayashim (Friend of man), Tado (The Strong), Kaza (God), Duniya (Experience of the World). The name is assigned two days after birth without any ceremony. But if the mother had been unfortunate and lost a number of children previously, a ceremony accompanied by beer and prayers for the child's welfare would be held, the priest (Magaji Elenowum) being summoned for the occasion.

[1] A "malam" is a Muslim teacher.

[2] Lahadi or Ladi = Sunday.

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A female child is sought in marriage almost as soon as she is born. Indeed, while a Katab woman is still enceinte, the father of a boy may come and ask that, should her child be a girl, she may be affianced to his son (and add that should it be a boy he would be glad if the mother would name him after himself, promising to regard him as a son). If the request is granted and the child proves to be a girl, the father of the boy fastens a few cowries on her wrist as a symbol of appropriation. In the ordinary way, however, the girl is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, and it is important to note that the suitor never approaches the father of the girl directly in the first instance. He goes to the father's brother, for it is the father's brother who has the chief say in the disposal of the girl's hand and who receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl. If the girl has no paternal uncle her hand may be at the disposal of a male paternal cousin.[1] It is for this reason that a playmate relationship is not permitted between a man and a female cousin to whom he may one day stand in the relation of guardian. When the girl grows up, and perchance finds she dislikes her betrothed, she would, through her girl friends, make her parents aware of her distaste, and the engagement would be broken off. But such a course would be unusual, as the maiden, even on the marriage day, is too young to hold any strong opinions of her own. She is formally betrothed at the age of seven, the fiancé presenting four chickens to the bridegroom's father. In that and every succeeding year the bridegroom and his friends perform one day's collective work on the farm of the girl's father (or her uncle if she has been, as commonly happens, adopted by her father's brother or cousin). This farm work may be commuted for a cash payment. Two thousand cowries or their equivalent are also given to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e. brothers and paternal cousins. The bride-price is 20,000 cowries given to the father (of which he keeps two-thirds for his own use, distributing the balance among his relatives). Before the final rites a goat must be presented to the girl's mother, three chickens to the father, and one hundred cowries to her maternal grandfather. The

[1] And sometimes maternal, though I omitted to obtain detailed instances.

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KATAB CHILDREN

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583 father of the girl then fixes a day for the capture of the bride by the bridegroom. She is sent off on some fictitious errand, is captured by the bridegroom's friend, lifted on their shoulders, and carried to his house. One of my servants witnessed a capture. The maid was sitting in the market at Zangon Katab, selling beans (by her mother's orders). Three young men suddenly appeared, and the strongest caught her by the legs and carried her off screaming, with her legs over his shoulders and her head pointing downwards. She struggled violently and bit him, and after having covered 300 yards he was glad to hand her over to his assistants. No doubt they all arrived at the husband's home very much the worse for wear. Parents state that the capture ceremony saves them the pain of parting with their daughter, but it is apparent that until comparatively recent times the capture of a bride was a real and not a mock affair. For the Katab were accustomed to capture, when they could, virgins and married women from other tribes; and it was permissible within the tribe for one clansman to capture a girl who was betrothed to a fellow clansman. If the captor belonged to the same subdivision as the fiancé he repaid the fiancé all his expenses, as custom compelled the fiancé to resign his claim for ever. But if the captor belonged to a different subdivision there would be no repayment, as the fiancé was permitted to elope later with the woman to whom he had formerly been [178] betrothed. The capture of affianced girls has now been abandoned, the tribe having come to regard it as inconsistent with modern conditions. Moreover, with the increase of the bride-price, a captor would find it difficult to repay a sub-clansman whose fiancée he had captured. The captured bride is deposited in the hut of one of the bridegroom's relatives, and 585 remains there for three nights. On the fourth night she is taken to the bridegroom's house and the marriage is consummated. If the bridegroom discovers that the bride is not *virgo intacta* he abuses her roundly, but he does not, like the Hausa, advertise 582 the fact to the world. The Katab has good reason to expect 836 virginity, for though premarital cohabitation is practised between a girl and her fiancé and other lads, with the connivance of her parents, many Katab girls find themselves married women before they have reached the age of puberty. It is revolting to our ideas, and also appears to be against the law of nature, that

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836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during 591 a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not 613 uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year 851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

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matter—she will bear her child in the new husband's home and wean it there. The child belongs, however, to the biological father (i.e. the first husband), and must be returned to him as soon as it is weaned. But how will the new husband regard that child? He is bound by tribal custom to treat it during the weaning period with the same care as he would his own, and if he displays ill-nature his new wife will promptly abandon him. If the child by the former husband dies the dead body is sent back to him as proof that it has really died.

A husband, therefore, takes every care to keep his wife contented, and he has studiously to cultivate her parents also. He visits them constantly with gifts, tobacco for the father and salt for the mother (the mother of his wife may not be living with the father of his wife, and he may therefore have to make separate visits to villages perhaps fifty miles apart). The more attractive his wife is, the more presents he must give. There is little question of adultery among the Katab. For no man would think of having sexual relations with the wife of a member of his own local group. The idea would be so repugnant as to be inconceivable. But a clansman of another subdivision may elope with a wife, and when this happens there is no remedy. The first husband cannot claim a refund of the bride-price; he merely hopes that one day his wife will return to him. If he were to demand the return of the bride-price, he would be repudiating his wife for ever; and in any case no Katab would ask for the return of a bride-price for a woman who had lived with him for a year. And so he proceeds to make good his loss by trying to abduct the wife of some other clansman (who does not belong to his own subdivision).

There is no doubt that the custom of sub-marriages plays a predominant part in the social life of a Katab, who may be said to spend the year endeavouring to retain a wife who suits him, or in working out the means by which he can obtain the wife of someone else. If he saves money it is with a view to contracting a sub-marriage, a barren investment if the woman leaves without even becoming enceinte.

Family Life and Occupations.—The Katab are agriculturists pure and simple; they have practically no industries. They farm rather more extensively than most pagan tribes, the average acreage per adult farmer ranging from four to six. A grown-up

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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son frequently leaves his father's compound, builds one for himself and farms on his own account (provided his father has someone [1] to look after him). Farms are, therefore, owned and worked individually, the farmer being assisted by an unmarried (or adopted) son, and by his wives (in such farming work as women perform, viz. planting out the *dauro* [2] millet, plucking the *acha* [3] millet, and helping to clean the farm at the beginning of the agricultural year). But brothers or cousins occupying the same compound may agree to farm together and share the harvested grain.

The principal crops grown are *dauro* and *acha* millet, the staple food crops. Guinea-corn is grown entirely for conversion into beer. *Aburu*,[4] *gwaza*,[5] yams, sweet potatoes, and ground nuts are also cultivated fairly extensively. The minor crops are cassava, coleus dysentericus, wild tomatoes, *risga*,[6] pumpkins, and the beniseed, which plays an important part in all religious rites. Every Katab woman has a farm of broad beans at the back of her hut grown on trellis work.

The Katab country is very fertile, and the absence of cotton is, therefore, surprising. For farming the Katab uses the spurred hoe common to all pagans of the Middle Zone (see photograph). The farming methods are those generally employed, and need not be described. There is the usual system of one day's co-operative work (*gaya*) every now and then on an individual's farm, the farmer providing his helpers liberally with beer. Thus there is a *gaya* for threshing the *acha*. The workers, men and women, assemble in the *acha* field during a moonlight night and set to work. The *acha* is made up into small bundles, and the men tramp out the grain by pressing the heel on the ears, the women extracting what remains by beating the bundles with sticks. *Acha* and *aburu* are much alike, but *acha*, not being so firmly rooted as *aburu*, is at harvest not cut but merely pulled out of the ground by the women. *Aburu* on the other hand is cut with a sickle (right hand), the left hand gathering up the sheaves which are bound into small bundles.

Grain is stored in a granary of the type indicated in the

[1] Usually a younger son or cousin. A younger son is not allowed to marry until his elder brothers have married.
[2] Dauro = Bulrush millet (*Pennisetum spicatum*).
[3] Acha = *Digitaria exilis*.
[4] Aburu = *Digitaria iburua*.
[5] Gwaza = *Colocasia antiquorum*.
[6] Risga = *Plectanthrus floribundus*.

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THE KATAB HOE

A KATAB GRANARY

[face p. 45

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accompanying photograph. The Katab do not, like the Kare-kare, etc., in the north, bury their grain as a normal proceeding, but in bygone days if they expected to be raided they concealed their grain in decanter-shaped pits somewhat resembling the graves in which they bury their dead. These pits were dried with wood fires, and the narrow mouth was blocked with a stone which was plastered over with mud.

Apart from agriculture the Katab have few means of adding to their income. For their pottery they are dependent on their Ataka neighbours. There is no weaving or dyeing of cloth. Their baskets are woven by women from the ribs of palm branches, and the women also fashion the *oyam* or tray-shaped adornment worn on the buttocks. (It is made of palm fronds, the "stalk" being a piece of bamboo.) The waterproof capes and coverings for the women's loads are, however, woven by the men (from palm fronds). There is a certain amount of petty trade carried on by the women on their own or their husband's behalf. It takes the form of the sale of excess supplies of millet and other crops, of firewood, and of the beans which every married woman grows on her own account. With the proceeds of the sale of her beans a Katab woman usually adds to the number of her goats.

During the dry season the men engage in hunting drives with their Kaje, Chawai, and Morwa neighbours. Of big game there is none, but the smaller antelopes are still to be found. Hares, jerboa, iguana, rats, field-mice, etc., are also sought, and the Katab employ dogs to assist them in the chase. The usual rule applies that the man whose arrow first entered the animal, however slightly, is entitled to the quarry. Disputes frequently arise on this matter, but every man knows his own arrow, either by the length of the shaft, or binding, or by the fact that he had removed one of the ears of the arrow-head or had cut private marks on the shaft. Custom requires a successful hunter to hand over at once to the priest of the kindred any of the smaller game, but he receives back a larger share than anyone else; in the case of the larger game he is entitled to help himself before giving anything to the priest. It may be added that in former times the hunting battues were sometimes made the occasion for shooting a rival, especially the abductor of one's wife. There are also fishing battues, traps and nets being

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There ARE ALSO fishing battues, TRAPS AND NETS BEING used. The fishing rites will be described under the head of religion.

Foods.—The Katab has two principal meals, at mid-day and after sunset (generally rather late in the evening, between 8 and 9). He also usually has a snack of something in the early morning. The porridge (*tuk*) of the evening meal is made from *dauro* millet, and it would not suit the palate of the Hausa, as the flour from which it is made is gritty, the result of insufficient milling and winnowing. The soup which accompanies the porridge is made usually of hibiscus seeds (*suzan*), which the Hausa would only use as a last resort (he seasons his with the fruit of the locust-bean). Salt (or charcoal), pepper and wild tomato are added to the soup. A Hausa would not add tomato to a soup containing meat, but the Katab does not mix his meat with the soup (like the Hausa); he eats it separately. The Katab does not always have the luxury of *tuk* at night. He may be content with a dish of beans (*dijok*) or of *kali* (Hausa *fate*), i.e. guinea-corn seasoned with hibiscus leaves, or of boiled yam. The yams are not pounded and made into *sokara* after the Yoruba fashion. They are boiled in their skins, put out on a mat, cut up and divided by the head of the household, each person skinning his own share. Yams or *gwaza* so treated may form the entire menu for the day, i.e. they may be cooked over night, eaten hot first thing in the morning, eaten cold during the day, and eaten again hot at night.

As regards meat, the Katab eats beef, goat, sheep, chicken, bush pig, monkey, iguana (a particular delicacy among all tribes, Kanuri excepted), rats, etc., but does not (like his Kagoro brethren and southern tribes) eat dog's flesh. He uses his dogs for guarding the compound at night and for hunting. Nor does a dog form part of the bride-price, as among the Kagoro. The Katab commonly sell their dogs to the Kagoro and buy goats with the proceeds. Horse- and camel-flesh are taboo.

Beer (*akan*) is an important foodstuff, and the method of its preparation may be recorded. The guinea-corn is soaked in water for three nights, and is then spread out on a cemented surface, and covered with leaves to protect it from the wind and sun. The grain bursts and is put out in a basket, dried in the sun, and finally milled. The flour is placed in a pot, water is added, and the mixture is stirred regularly throughout the day. It is then boiled and left until the sediment has settled. The

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liquid is drained off, leaving the sediment, poured into another pot, boiled and left to cool, and is then ready for use.

Various Social Regulations.—Each Katab woman takes one complete day's turn at cooking the food for the entire household, old women alone being exempted from this duty. Thus the principal wife of the head of the household may cook to-day, the second wife to-morrow, a son's wife on the following day, and so on. Numerous jealousies arise from the practice. A wife will take notice of the fact that her husband does not appreciate her cooking, and rival wives will watch to see that the food supplied by the cook of the day represents the amount of corn issued for that day. Women of the compound will charge the cook with having kept back a proportion of the corn in order to sell it in the market for her own advantage. Women are not allowed to cook during their menses. Food cooked by a woman in this condition is said to affect the eyesight of the person who eats it. Married women help their mothers-in-law in various domestic duties, especially in the matter of the preparation of meals, and junior wives assist the senior wives. The senior wife, it may be noted, is the first wife married, and she may be a mere child in years to the second wife. The junior wives eat their meals at the porch of the hut of the senior wife, who is the president of the female society.

Men do not eat with women, and there are numerous rules as to who may eat from the same calabash. A father, for example, would avoid sharing his calabash with his eldest son; it would create disrespect. He would share his meal with his youngest son, or better still, with his grandson. The sons also have their own rules. The eldest son would avoid sharing his calabash with the son immediately junior—he would share it with the next but one, and so on.

A Katab husband sleeps two nights successively with each wife. If he has a hut of his own his wife sleeps there; but otherwise he sleeps in his wife's hut. The first wife, we have said, is the senior wife socially, and she is the "real wife", for even if she abandons her husband she will usually one day return. It is believed that in the future life a man has one wife only and that she is the woman he had first married.

Daily Life.—We may now give a rough summary of the daily life of the Katab. Rising at sunrise the head of the household

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KATAB WOMEN POUNDING CORN

[see p. 48

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[512] takes his flask of water, performs his toilet, and then salutes
576 each member of his household. The Katab is not a polite person, judging by the standard of Muslim politeness, or that of some other pagan tribes. He salutes no one he does not know, not even senior members of his own clan. If you enter his compound and say "Salaam alaikum" he will say "maraba" or "ma'aban", but will not rise to welcome you. A grown-up son would think little of striking his own father. The Hausa forms of salutation have to some extent been adopted, but it is noticeable that while a man will salute another in the Hausa form he will [562] avoid saluting a woman in this way. Thus in the morning he will say to a man "Kwal lafiya", whereas to a woman he would say "Akwai lafiya". In the evening he would say to a man "Barka", but to a woman he would say "Akwamam shamsham". Men may copy the higher civilization of the Hausa, don gowns, and so on, but women may not, and the different modes of salutation to men and women may be considered a reminder that new-fangled ideas do not apply to women-folk. The general salute is *sanunnen* (sing.), *sanunyin* (pl.). In welcoming a stranger the householder speaks first, and a local resident is always the first to salute a stranger. Friends salute by each placing his thumb and forefinger together against those of the other, and cracking them. But senior men salute by pulling each other's beards.[1] Those who had taken the head of any enemy were saluted as *mwaliak*, and it was customary to hold up to them the right hand.

512 To return, however, to the daily life of the individual, when
461 the chief of the household has made his salutations he procures for himself such scraps of food as have been left over from the previous evening's meal, and having eaten these takes his hoe (if he has not given up farming, and it is the farming season) and starts off for his day's work, which he carries on until mid-day, when he stops to partake, under a tree, of the porridge brought by his wife. He will then work on until six in the evening, with another short break about 3.30 in order to consume the remnants [515] of the porridge left over from the mid-day meal. On returning home he may wash himself or not, according to his views on cleanliness, and then await the preparation of the evening meal, which he eats with his brothers and children. He may

[1] See the photograph facing p. 81.

1: Meek E. G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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512 461 converse a little, and then go off to the hut of the wife with whom he is sleeping that night.

A woman gets up before sunrise and washes herself at the back of the house, finds some food to give her husband before he goes off to the farm, and prepares the mid-day meal which she takes to her husband. She then goes out collecting firewood, or, if it is the planting-out season, she may spend the afternoon in the planting-out of the bulrush millet in the ridge prepared by her husband. She then returns home and begins cooking the evening meal. Katab women do not work in the fields to the same extent as the Kagoro. Kagoro women clean farms; Katab and Morwa do not.

512 857 A Katab lad rises soon after his father, and warms himself at the fire, washes, eats a snack of food, and follows his father to the farm. He returns home shortly before his father and talks to his brothers or his mother. A girl, on rising, takes all the dirty calabashes and pots to the river and washes them, goes home, sits at a fire and then has a few snacks of food, which she eats with her mother. She assists her mother to prepare the morning meal and waits at home until her mother returns from taking food to her father. If it is planting-out time she will go with her mother and assist her on the farm.

512 887 An old man is not in a hurry to rise in the morning. He often forgoes his morning wash, and is not always successful in procuring a snack of food from his daughter-in-law. He sees that the small boys take out the goats and tie them up on good pasture ground for the day. He spends his day sitting about, and may [292] pass his time weaving one of the grass waterproof capes which every Katab carries in wet weather. An old woman's duties are to tend young children while the mother is working, to sweep the compound and look after it when the other occupants are out. She also goes out to the bush near the village collecting *karkashi*.[1] As for the small boys their main duty is to keep 512 857 the fire going, or, if it has gone out, to obtain a light from a neighbouring compound; they also take out and bring in the goats. When the crops are well advanced the small boys are given the special task of driving away monkeys and other pests, an arduous duty which requires their presence in the fields from sunrise to sunset.

[1] i.e. leaves for soup-making.

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In the dry season the daily round is considerably different. A man on rising usually sits by the fire; and, if he can find nothing with which to break his fast, he waits patiently until the mid-day meal, unless he is shifting his compound or has to repair the old compound, in which case he will be busy the whole day. If he has nothing to do after lunch he may go off to a beer-bout or may betake himself to market, buying perhaps one or two sticks of cooked meat, or some pieces of cassava, which he consumes on the road home. A woman has, however, in the dry season to maintain her activities, drawing water in the early morning, preparing the mid-day meal, collecting wood (some of which she may sell in the market if she wants to purchase anything), and preparing the evening meal.

A youth rises at dawn and sits round a fire. If there is no food going he may betake himself to the bush to try his luck at hunting, returning in time for the mid-day meal. The afternoon is spent in chatting, or in further hunting, or in following up some love affair. The maiden pursues her usual duty of cleaning calabashes and pots in the morning, drawing water and helping her mother to prepare the mid-day meal. The afternoon is spent in amusement; or if she wants to buy some beads she may go off to the bush, collect wood, and sell it in the market. An old woman's duties are confined to putting out grain and household belongings in the sun, looking after small children, and guarding the compound while the others are out. An old man watches for an opportunity to withdraw to a beer festival; failing that he contents himself with weaving bags. Children have nothing to do in the dry season, as boys are then relieved of the duty of chasing away monkeys and of tying up goats, which are now allowed to wander about as they please.

Type of House.—The Katab and their neighbours are distinguished by the peculiar design of their houses, which is illustrated by the following sketches. It will be seen that the house is oval and has a receding roof. This design is said to render the hut more weather-worthy than the ordinary conical hut. I was unable to discover which tribe originated the design, but it is noticeable that among the Kagoro and Ataka many of the huts are still of the conical pattern, which would suggest that the Kagoro and Ataka had copied the oval design from

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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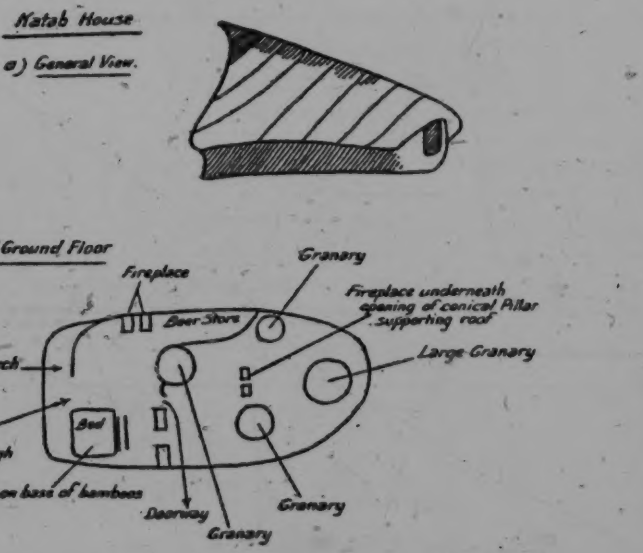
342 others, possibly from the Kagoma or Jaba, who are said to be the most expert builders of this particular type of house. The houses are built during the dry season, and the granaries are begun first. The line of the compound is then laid out, and when this is done the head of the family calls in the assistance



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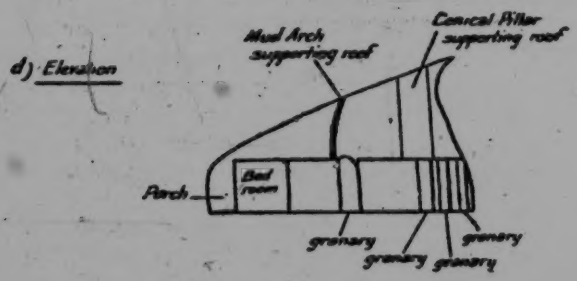

of a man who is reputed to have a special knowledge of house-building medicine. The medicine is placed in a pot with certain leaves; a chicken is sacrificed and the blood allowed to drip into the pot, which is then buried in a hole in the middle of the compound, the mouth of the pot being stopped by a stone and sealed up with mud. The floors are made more durable by having pieces of broken pottery beaten into the surface. Patterns of cowries are sometimes inserted into the flooring. The Katab do not, like the Hausa, employ locust-bean juice as a cement, but they smear the walls of their houses with red earth mixed with *dafara*. This gives a slippery surface and prevents vermin from ascending to where property is stored. The ground plan of the house is roughly 30 feet by 18 feet, the walls being 3 or 4 feet high. The houses have a ground and upper floor, and from the upper floor a mud arch and conical pillar rise to support the roof.

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Physical Appearance.—The Katab are rather short in stature, and are of coarse build, the women in particular being thick-set and having great development of the buttocks. The women present an ungainly appearance as they come along the road swinging their arms like men. The crown of a woman's head has a peculiar conical appearance as the result of carrying heavy loads balanced on a circular pad. Grown-up men (and women) shave the head, and the older men wear a beard; but a moustache is not affected. Lads allow their hair to grow or not as they please; but with the assumption of responsibility the head is always shaven. Girls allow their hair to grow, but they are shorn of their locks by the husband's parents soon after marriage.

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Teeth are not filed or chipped, and there is no piercing of the nasal septum. But women wear lip and ear ornaments. The lips are pierced with a needle at about the age of seven, and a lip plug is inserted, fashioned from the thorn of the *fasakwari* tree. It is a cylindrical disc with a flange. The front of the disc is hollowed out and a bead inserted. The discs of grown-up women are about the size of a shilling. The ears are pierced at the age of five and rings of tin inserted. Men also wear earrings in the left ear, but among some families (e.g. the Bobai family of Fakan) earrings are taboo for some reason I was unable to discover.

Men and women both wear iron rings and girdles of brass wire of European manufacture. Bracelets of brass and iron are also worn by both sexes. Women and lads frequently, especially for dances, streak their faces with a black pigment obtained from the dried seeds of an acacia tree. Women also smear their bodies with red earth mixed with mahogany oil. The earth is obtained in a river bed and is reduced to a powder by being burned in a fire of dried cow's dung. The red earth may be a means of protecting the body from the actinic rays of the sun, but it appears also to have some religious significance, as warriors in former times were wont to streak with red earth their faces and also the heads of captured enemies.

All men of the Katab now wear small cloth loin-coverings, the flap passing through the legs from front to rear. But in former times the triangular loin-cloth covering was the rule. Important men also, nowadays, wear a cloth thrown round the body and over the left shoulder. Many, too, wear gowns. For priests the use of cloth is taboo. They wear a triangular loin-covering of leather and over the shoulders a cape of cob-skin, the skin of the animal's forelegs being sewn together to serve as fasteners. The inside of the skin is cured with acacia leaves, the use of wood ashes and paw-paw leaves being avoided in order that the outside hair may be left intact. This was the pristine clothing for all males, and it is noteworthy that even to this day, among the Kagoro, no one may enter a religious shrine wearing garments made of cloth. In wet weather men wear head and shoulder coverings of plaited grass. Girls go about nude until the age of five, and then, up to the age of ten, affect a small apron of cowry shells which jingle with every

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movement. Later, and until puberty, they discard these in favour of a girdle of thin plaited grass which is tied round the waist, the loose ends being passed between the legs from front to back and made fast at the back by being passed underneath the girdle. Married women wear on the buttocks the peculiar circular plaited tray-like adornment, resembling an inverted mushroom, which is known as the *oyam*,[1] and is characteristic of the Katab, Kachichere, Kagoro, Ataka, Kaje, Jaba, and the Ikulu section of the Kadara tribe. It is kept in position by a string passed round the waist. It is frequently smeared with red oil, and the edges may be adorned with white beads. It would appear that the *oyam* has undergone considerable evolution in recent times, and that originally it consisted of the stalk only. A small tray was then superimposed, and this has grown during the last twenty years from a diameter of six inches to twelve or even eighteen inches. The reason assigned for this change of feminine fashions is that nowadays there is no war and women do not have to run away. In war time a large *oyam* would have been an encumbrance! It is certainly an encumbrance to-day, as it has to be pushed on one side on sitting down. The original *oyam* may have had some phallic significance, but is more probably an ornate development of the ordinary buttock-covering of grass or leaves, the primary object of which is to secure decency while bending at work in the fields. An apron of leaves may be worn underneath the *oyam*, and an apron of leaves is always worn over the pubes. The leaves are changed every day, and sometimes twice a day. Katab women after giving birth tie up the abdomen with strings of rolled palm leaves. The intention is to prevent distension of the abdomen, and the custom is therefore similar to that commonly followed in Europe to-day. At night a man sleeps in his loin-covering. Women and children sleep nude. The husband may cover himself and his wife with a cloth; but, as there is always a wood fire burning through the night and the houses are designed so as to afford complete protection from the weather, blankets are not required.

Tribal Marks.—The Katab, Kagoro, Morwa, Kaje, Ikulu, and Kamantam all affect the same design of tribal markings, which are approximately as follows:—

[1] Sometimes pronounced *oyam*.

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PLATE 7

KATAB GIRLS AND YOUTHS DANCING

TATTOOING

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(1) Male

FOREHEAD = 21 on one half
20 on the other
CHEEK = 9 on each side
JAW = 24 on each side

(2) Female

FOREHEAD = 33 on one half
32 on the other
CHEEK = 17 on each side
JAW = 26 on each side

I was unable to discover where these markings originated. The Kaje are regarded as the most skilful markers. The incisions are made with a knife shaped thus :—

After the incisions have been made, the blood is washed off and a powder of bamboo charcoal is rubbed in. Later, mahogany grease or ground-nut oil is smeared over the cuts. Lads receive their marks, which are nowadays considered to be merely a form of adornment, some years after they have begun to engage in agricultural work. Youths were formerly jeered at if they had no tribal marks, but nowadays boys commonly refuse to be marked, and many parents have come to regard the possession of tribal marks as a handicap under modern conditions. Girls are scarified with triangular designs on the anterior part of the body. These marks appear to be connected with nubility as

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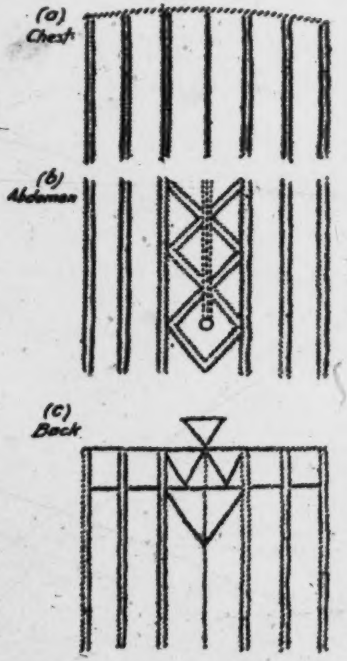
they are incised shortly before the girl goes to her husband. 304
The facial and posterior marks are not incised until after she 619
has taken up her abode in the husband's home. The commonest design used is as follows :—



N.B.—Designs of the above type are common throughout Africa. For example, M. Junod in describing the body marks of Baronga women (S. Africa) says : " On the anterior part of the body four triangles are drawn under the breast leaving a square place of which the navel occupies the exact middle." And again : " The patterns are triangular, the upper triangles meeting with the lower ones at their apex." [171]

Musical Instruments, etc.—Of musical instruments there is 534
no great variety. The commonest is a valve instrument of the oboe type, made of guinea-corn stalk and played by boys and young men in the fields. On festal occasions music is provided by bands consisting of drums and antelope horns. The horns may be lengthened by the addition of a calabash tube. The

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534 drums are double or single-membrane drums of the hour-glass pattern. A common type of drum used by children is a pot with the bottom knocked out and covered with a goatskin. 533 It is beaten with a stick. Songs are sung in a minor key, and 535 the horn players contort their bodies as they move round in a circle. All sections of society join in the dance. Boys skip round and girls yodel as they follow suit. Old men move round sedately, and mothers with babes on their backs join in.

526 The Katab young men hold games annually, which are known as the Chodong Gane and resemble the *shero* contest of the Fulani. A string is tied round the contestant's waist and he is pulled backwards and forwards by other young men of a different clan, as though he were some wild animal. He is then released and falls on the others with a cane, and they in turn thrash him soundly. The body is protected with cummerbunds of cloth, and the game is considered a test of endurance. Girls and women attend and ply the competitors with beer. It is to be noted that a man will not join in a contest with a fellow clansman of an opposite subdivision, i.e. with one who stands to him in the relation of a *nungvan*.

771 *Religion.*—The Katab does not appear at first sight to be profoundly influenced by religious ideas. He does not subject himself to innumerable taboos or surround himself with amulets and talismans. He does not set up in his compound an array of material objects which are believed to be the abode of spiritual forces. He believes in the existence of evil spirits, but he does not live in constant dread of them or find it necessary to be continually offering sacrifice. He is not, like the Bura, a devotee of a host of Nature spirits. When he sees the new moon he offers a prayer for health and prosperity, but the prayer is addressed to Gwaza, the Sky God. This nonchalant attitude may be due to a long association with Hausa Muslims, but it is true to say of the majority of the tribes speaking the languages of the Middle Zone that they are not, like the Jukun, Okpoto, Yoruba, and Igara, dogged at every turn by the fear of occult influences.

769 Nevertheless, the Katab is strongly imbued with animistic 593 ideas, which find their expression principally in the rites connected 888 with the recognition of the kindred and family ancestors. This ancestral cult is for him merely an extension of the principle

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 [769]

governing his every-day life that if things are going wrong he takes his troubles and a pot of beer to his father (in the classificatory sense), who drinks it ceremonially and speaks the necessary words of comfort and assurance. For the Katab, though he may on occasion show disrespect to the head of his family, is a great believer in the magical power of the old man. To secure his father's blessing is as important for him as it was for Jacob, and to incur his curse or even censure is to lay himself open to one misfortune after another. And so a young man who has spoken angry words to his father or uncle will soon seek reconciliation by means of an offering of beer and a chicken. Or if he finds himself pursued by ill luck he will go to his father and inquire whether he had offended him at some time in the past. A married daughter, living in some distant village and having for some reason incurred her father's displeasure, will send her husband to her father with a chicken and beer, asking for forgiveness, and will throw ashes on her shoulders.

While your father is alive you have a living protector, and you do not, therefore, require to appeal to the dead; but if your father is dead you continue to take your troubles to him just as you did in his lifetime. And so the head of a family, having no living father, goes, as he feels the necessity, to his father's grave, and there deposits his flask of beer and his offerings of beniseed[1] and a cooked chicken. These he leaves overnight, addressing the spirit of his dead father and explaining the object of his coming. But, being the head of the family, he does not treat the matter as purely personal, and so he collects all his male relatives and may also invite male members of his wife's family. Next morning he escorts them to his father's grave and, assisted by them, repeats his requests of the previous evening. A little of the beer is poured on the grave and pieces of the chicken's flesh and beniseed are offered, the remainder of the offerings being eaten and drunk ceremonially by all present. There is no debauchery at the graveside; but on returning home free play is given to the feelings, and at the ensuing feast enormous quantities of beer are consumed, all members of the family, including females, taking a part.

The head of the family thus acts on behalf of all the members

[1] The use of beniseed in religious rites seems to be general among the pagan tribes of the Northern Provinces.

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The head of the family thus acts on behalf of all the members
769 of the family which may include brothers, cousins, and nephews.
But if, for example, the head of the family has a nephew whose
782 father is dead, why should the nephew not go direct to his father's
596 grave? The answer is that he has a living "father" in the person of his uncle, to whom in the ordinary way he takes his troubles. His wives may have run away, or he may have been unsuccessful in begetting children, or unfortunate in other respects. So he goes to his uncle and says: "I am luckless in all I do; perhaps it is because I have offended you." His uncle will take ashes, touch them with his tongue, spit them out, and say: "You have not offended me." The nephew may then say, "Perhaps it is because of some offence I committed against my father in his lifetime." The uncle would reply, "That may be, but let the matter rest at present." If the nephew is still pursued by ill-luck he would again approach his uncle, who would say, "Very well, I will take you to your father's grave and you can there make your offering."

782 The points to be noted are that if you have a living father
you take your trouble to him, and that even if your own father
769 is dead and you have a senior living relative you would not go
592 to your father's grave without reference to him. Other note-
worthy points are that neither males nor females make offerings
[562] at the grave of old women, though the death of an old woman is honoured by the same rites that mark the death of an old man. A woman has to make her petition to a dead father through a male. Women, indeed, appear to engage directly in no religious rites at all. The household head is thus the household priest, and the services of the high priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, are not ordinarily required even at harvest time, when each household, through the senior male, offers thanks with the first-fruits at the graves of the ancestors for the yearly supply of food. But on special occasions the assistance of the
[793] priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, is sought. Thus, if things are constantly going wrong in a house recently occupied, the householder may report the matter to the Magaji Elenowum, who may say that the trouble is due to resentment on the part of the ghost of the former householder, either for some neglect during his lifetime or on account of an improper burial. And so the new householder goes to the grave of the former householder and deposits beer and a dish of beniseed, to which some

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scraps of meat have been added. Next day, accompanied by the Magaji and his assistants, and by the senior relatives of his household, he goes to the graveside. The Magaji inspects the dish of beniseed, and, if the ancestral ghost has partaken, there will be found in the dish a few hairs of the hide of some bush animal. Needless to say it is the Magaji alone who may make the inspection, and the hairs are always found. The youngest of the Magaji's assistants then offers a prayer: "I declare to our ancestral spirit that, if I have done him wrong, I come to him to seek forgiveness. I repent in order that I may find good fortune on earth at his hands. May Gwaza (God) grant that I may be blessed with children and wealth." The other assistants in turn make similar prayers, and finally the Magaji himself concludes by saying: "We have made common prayer and it has been received. Absolution has been granted you. Begone all of you to the bush, and may Gwaza prosper you and give you quarry to bring to me. If you fail to obey this command, then the blame is with you and has nought to do with your forefathers." They all rejoice and say they will go forthwith. The priest then takes the beniseed and meat offerings and gives a little to the head of the household and his companions in turn. He gives some of the beer to the householder, drinks some himself, and hands on the remainder to the others. Any of the beer left over has to be drunk by the priest himself. The young men then go off to hunt, and the quarry is brought to the priest, who divides it up among the members of the household and his own assistants, the major portion going to the priest and to the individual who had brought the quarry down.

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It may be interesting to describe here the ceremony of reconciliation between two members of a family. It may be that a younger brother has quarrelled with an elder, and in a fit of temper the elder has told the younger that he never wishes to see his face again. This amounts to an imprecation, which the younger brother may ignore for some time. But the remembrance of it will rankle in his mind, and circumstances will soon arise which will make the memory of the imprecation intolerable. Sickness may invade his house. And so he will resolve that the time has come for an atonement. With a flask of beer and a chicken he will go to his brother, and in the presence of the senior members of the family will formally repent, asking

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for the withdrawal of the curse and putting some ashes on his tongue and spitting them out. M. Junod describes an exactly similar rite of reconciliation among the Bantu-speaking Thonga of South Africa.[1]

As regards the future life and psychological beliefs, the Katab's ideas are, like our own, of an indeterminate character. For the abode of the dead he uses the Muslim term "Lahira", and he believes that the majority of the spirits of the dead are content to remain there. One who has done evil in his lifetime will be punished in "Lahira" by the ancestral spirits. It is the discontented and evil spirits that return to the world to trouble men. The Katab does not appear to have any conception of a multiple soul. The breath and shadow are associated with the soul. If anyone falls ill it is because the soul has left the body temporarily. His soul leaves his body when he goes to sleep, and it is the re-entry of the soul which causes him to dream. During the day the soul may become partially dissociated and follow him about, and for this reason a man will sometimes turn quickly on the road, thinking there is someone at his back. The soul of a witch can be seen at night giving off fire. There does not appear to be any conception of a bush soul, but the souls of certain animals are believed to be able to enter a man's body. Thus if a hunter kills a roan he immediately fumigates himself and his house with some smoking medicine. The soul of a dead enemy must also be warded off by rites to be described later.

Reincarnation ideas are not prominent, but in certain cases the dead are believed to be reborn. Thus the posthumous child of a hunter who was killed in the bush may be the hunter himself reborn, and the mark of the shot which killed him may be seen in the child's leg. A man who had met a violent death may be born again as the son of his remarried widow, bearing on his body the mark of the wound which had caused his death. These beliefs appear to be based on well-known physiological facts. It is of interest to note that if a widow (or widower) dies, she (or he) is met on the other side by the soul of her (or his) first husband (or wife), i.e. it is a man's first wife who is regarded as his true wife.

Associated apparently with the private ancestral cult is the

[1] *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. ii, p. 371.

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Associated apparently with the private ancestral cult is the public cult of the *obwai* or tutelary genius (Hausa *dodo*), how seems to represent generally the plurality of ancestral spirits and particularly the spirit of the ancestor of the clan or kindred. The people have no clear ideas on the subject, which is not surprising, as the *obwai* cult was found in many instances to have been an importation from neighbouring tribes or to have been derived from the Aku clan, whose *obwai* take precedence of all the others. It is noticeable that the *obwai* hut is the only round hut in the village. It can accommodate thirty or forty people, and is provided with mud benches. It is often surmounted with a piece of pottery resembling a crown. The doorway is protected by a curtain of palm fronds, and no initiate may enter the hut at any time other than on the occasion of a festival. The cult is in the hands of the *Agwam obwai*, and plays a considerable part in the social and religious life of the people. It partakes of the nature of a secret society and is used largely as a means of discipline for women and children. The *obwai* is not seen, but his voice is heard, and every two years his representative appears publicly in his costume of grass, dancing round and striking with his cane anyone he comes across. (It is said that he will strike a woman who is going to bear a male child, but will not touch a woman who is going to bear a female.)

As a social factor the *obwai* is not unimportant. If a theft is committed in the village the shrill voice of the *obwai* is heard, and he has to be provided with beer in order that the sin may be purged. The *obwai* may at night be heard striking the wall of a house where an ill-natured wife has been giving trouble to her husband, warning her to desist. I was informed by an *Agwam obwai* that the representations to him of a mere bully of a husband would not be received; he would be told he was a liar and sent about his business. Nevertheless, it is obvious that, as the cult is in the hands of men, and the *Agwam obwai* receives a benefit when his services are required, the cult must be used more in the interests of the male than of the female sex.

Among the neighbouring Kaje tribe every two to three years the *obwai* compels every woman to wear (from July until the *obwai* festival in February) a string necklace as a guarantee that she will not abandon her husband during that period, i.e. the Kaje seek by religious means to put some check on the social evil of excessive sub-marriages. She is required to wear this necklace

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794 626 582 continually, and to produce it at the spring festival tied round the pot containing her offering of beer. If she cannot produce it she is fined. If she runs off to another husband during that period, her relatives, who of course live in some other town, are fined. It might appear that the *obwai* of one town had no power of levying fines on members of another town, but as there is a reciprocal arrangement between the towns there is no difficulty in collecting the fines. The practice is not purely selfish, but is directed towards the common good, for in addition to prohibiting one's own wives from running away it also prohibits parents during this period from allowing their married daughters to contract a sub-marriage. A parent of town A who during these six months receives a bride-price from a man in town B for a married daughter who lives in town C is fined by the *obwai*.

794 796 241 The *obwai* is not, however, merely a village policeman. He is the centre of the festivals which begin and end the agricultural year. The main *obwai* festival is that which introduces farming operations just before the first rains. The whole community brings to the *obwai* hut offerings of beer, beniseed, goats, chickens, and porridge. The senior men pour the beer into the common pot in the *obwai* house, leaving a portion for the women and the younger people, who partake outside. The *Agwam obwai* then drinks a little of the beer from the pot, and asks the *obwai* to secure for them a successful farming season. A general feast ensues, the senior males being inside the *obwai* house, and the women and younger males being outside in the vicinity under a large tree. Dancing begins, and the voice of the *obwai* is heard. (He speaks, concealed in the roof, in a voice disguised by the use of a wooden tube covered with spider's egg capsule.) He breaks into a song, addressing, it would seem, his living representative the *Agwam obwai*: "Kiachang a chira" ("Have you taken aught from anyone by force?"). The *Agwam obwai* replies "E" ("No, I have not"). The *obwai* continues: "Gado ze yai kiang nia cheda" ("No one can take aught by force—he can only give it willingly"). The *Agwam obwai* replies (singing, and all outside taking up the refrain): "Ei ee" ("Yes, that is true"). The *obwai* continues: "Lung yungwav" ("Fire has devoured the town"). Refrain: "Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "Salio bang ayawat" ("But nothing can part brethren save death only"). Refrain: "Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "A biang sang okwon" (indecent). Refrain:

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"Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "Na mi kiang a zangat se zangat (indecent). Refrain: "Ei, ee."

The indecency of the songs sung at the public festivals is in striking contrast to the rules of decorum which govern the ordinary private life. This is not characteristic of the Katab, but may be said to be general of all Negro society. To brothers-in-law, for example, any jokes about sexual intercourse would, in the ordinary course, be taboo and wholly impossible. A man will bow down in humble subjection to his parents-in-law and avoid them on all possible occasions. But on the occasion of public festivals all the ordinary rules of private life are waived, and there is a saturnalia which permits a father-in-law to dance round in the same circle as his daughter-in-law, singing songs referring in the main to sexual matters. It is repugnant to any native to repeat in cold blood the words of these songs to a European, and it would be equally repugnant to him to use them at any other time than on the occasion of the public festival when, as of old among the Romans, free expression is given to the pent-up feelings. (In this connection we may instance cases where during public festivals, e.g. among the Gwari, it is permissible to abuse the Chief without fear of retaliation for all actions during the year which were regarded as unjust and tyrannical.) An *obwai* festival is also held at harvest, and a month before the feast his voice is heard warning the people to make preparations and desist from idle disputes.

There are among the Katab no elaborate rites of initiation into the cult of *obwai*. Children are taken to his hut at an early age (4–8), warned to be obedient to their parents and given food. The short ceremony is concluded by a form of baptism in a stream, the smearing of the boys' heads with mahogany oil, and a feast in the village. It may be of interest to mention here the part that the *obwai* plays among the neighbouring Jaba tribe in the matter of initiation. These initiation rites among the Jaba have no connection with circumcision. They are performed when the lad is between 9 and 11 years of age. Among the Jaba, the *obwai* is known as the *Ku*[1] and the initiation rites are known as *woroku*. A noteworthy feature is that the lad is initiated not by his father, but by his maternal uncle. The father has no say in the matter. The lad goes to his maternal uncle's house, and the uncle provides the preliminary fee of one chicken. He

[1] This is a Jukun and apparently also an Ancient Egyptian term. See Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 263.

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escorts his nephew to the house of the *Ku* which he, with the other candidates for initiation, is required to enter blindfolded. They are all promptly beaten by the attendants of the representative of the *Ku*. (The maternal uncle may take some of the lashes himself to save his nephew.) The bandages are removed, and the priest addresses the boys, saying: "Do you see who I am?" They say "Yes". "Well," says the priest, "you know that the women and children believe that our dead fathers reside here. Do you see any signs of them?" The lads say "No". The priest thereupon warns them that if they ever disclose the make-believe character of the rites they will meet with instant death. They are further warned that if they steal, or despise their parents, they will certainly be punished. (Fathers report unruly sons to the *Ku*, and they are severely handled at the first ensuing festival which all must attend.) But above all they must never disclose to a woman the secret of the *Ku*. The boys are kept there for five days, and if they behave with decorum receive no further thrashings. But if a boy succeeded in making his escape to his village, he would be speedily captured, and he and all the other boys, it is said, would be put to death as a proof that the *Ku* had swallowed them! Enormous quantities of food have to be consumed by the boys during these days. The food is provided by the women, and the boys must eat it, for the *Ku* is supposed to have an insatiable appetite. At the end of five days they are taken out to the bush during the night and bathed in white mud and shaved in patchy fashion to give them the appearance of having been vomited up by the *Ku*. They then return to the village and are welcomed by their mothers and anointed with oil to clean off the white mud. They beat all girls with whom they used to play, for they have now become manly and children of the *Ku*. They are then required to engage in hunting animals in the bush and to spend a further five nights in the hut of the *Ku*. All animals killed become the perquisite of the priest and his followers. On the conclusion of this period they return finally to the village, but from that day onwards associate only with themselves and their senior male relatives. Hitherto they were women. Now they have become men. Their women relatives treat them with especial favour, provide them abundantly with food, but the lads address no word to their mothers, aunts, or sisters. All conversation with women

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is strictly taboo. This taboo is kept up for three months, and to mark its conclusion all the lads must go to the farm of the priest and do one day's work. The priest then gives permission to the lads to speak to women, reminding them of the consequence of revealing the common secret. The women prepare a feast and pray the boys that they may once again hear them speak. It is clear that these rites symbolize a process of death and rebirth. The three months' silence is a portrayal of the early years of children who have not yet learned to speak. They are a precaution also against the revelation of the mysteries to women. Anyone subsequently blurting out the truth was taken to the *Ku* house and tried. If he was proved guilty, his father took ashes and rubbed them on the boy's head (the symbol of mourning). The boy was then impaled on a sharpened stake, all the initiates outside dancing and singing to drown the screams of the victim. The women were told that the *Ku* had swallowed the boy.

These inhuman practices cannot, of course, be carried out nowadays. The imposition of fines in lieu of capital punishment is apparently insufficient to maintain the secrecy of the rites; otherwise the above details would not have been obtained.

We have seen that the *obwai* rites are of considerable social importance, and to the uninitiated involve also the religious belief that the dead are in close association with the living. But these religious beliefs are shattered at initiation, for the boys learn for the first time that the dead do not assemble in the *obwai* house, and that the mysterious voice of the *obwai* is produced by a purely mechanical process. In spite of this, the initiates do not apparently regard the whole thing as a fraud; for a part only of the mysteries is revealed and the initiates still continue to believe that the *Agwam obwai* is in some vague way a go-between between the living and the dead. It is right, therefore, that the punishment of social offences, whether committed by the initiated or uninitiated, should be in the hands of the *Agwam obwai*.

Rain-making.—It would appear that the rain-making rites also are intimately associated with the ancestors. Each kindred has its rain-maker, and though he may perform the rites on some sacred stone or other material object and address his prayers to the Lord of Heaven (Gwaza), at the back of his mind

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769 he is addressing his dead forefathers. And if his prayers for
789 rain are granted it is to the grave of his most remote ancestor that he retires in order to offer thanks. There are many rain-makers among the Katab, but the rain-maker par excellence is one of the Shokwa family, the Teowap. The Shokwa sprang from the River Kaduna, and it is appropriate that they should be responsible for water supplies. Just before the rains are due the Teowap takes his flask of beer, prepared from offerings of corn given by all the heads of households, and goes to the sacred stream. With prayers for a successful farming year he ladles out quantities of the beer on the water and on certain trees in the vicinity. No one may begin planting until the Teowap, or Magajin Dodo as he is also called, has first set the example. In October also he reaps his small plot of digitaria millet, and offers a porridge of the first-fruits, throwing some into the river and smearing the trees. No one may use new corn until these rites have been performed. Each householder repeats the first-fruit rites in his compound, making porridge of digitaria with which he smears the lintel of the door.

On the occurrence of drought rites are also performed. The Teowap goes to the banks of the Kaduna, to the very spot from which his ancestors sprang, sprinkling beer and beniseed to the four corners of the compass and at the base of certain trees. He then says: "Gwaza, our children are dying; grant us rain that our crops may survive and that we may eat the fruit thereof and live."

769 In March, just before the first rains are due, the Teowap
226 sends his sons to the Kaduna with beer and instructions to offer the beer to the spirits of the river for a plentiful supply of rain during the agricultural season and for a successful fishing drive. They address the spirits, saying, "The priest of Shokwa has sent us to perform the rites performed by our forefathers. Grant that we may have rain sufficient for our crops and that those who fish here on the morrow may be successful in catching those fish which it is permissible to catch; those that may not be taken do thou place on one side." Beer is then sprinkled on the water. Next morning the priest arrives himself, and, finding that the rites have been correctly carried out, gives permission for the fishing to begin. The first to enter the water is one of the priest's sons, and then all join in the drive. The first man

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of each village to catch a fish, however small, must hand it over to the priest, who has the fishes cooked and eats them ceremonially with his sons.

Among the Kaje the rain-making rites are also in the hands of a particular family. Material objects used are a monolith set in a grove (into which no one may enter with an axe), and a bamboo branch which has been used for measuring corpses before making a grave. In time of drought the people come to the head of this family and inquire if the drought is due to his negligence. So he takes the bamboo to the grove, and striking the monolith, says: "This custom I have received from my fathers and forefathers. May the Lord of the Heavens (Gwaza) grant that we may be blessed with rain. Let not the people die of hunger. They cling to me and say that I have hindered the rains. May Gwaza grant that the custom of my forefathers may not appear to be a worthless thing, and that I may be saved from the abuse of my kindred." This appeal is apparently addressed to the ghosts of dead ancestors, for, if rain follows, the priest immediately goes to the graves of the most remote ancestor and there offers thanks. There are also rites to prevent excessive rains while the corn is in the ear. To guard against this the rain-priest plants early a patch of digitaria, and with the new corn he makes a porridge and smears it on the monolith with the supplication that the crops may not be injured by an excess of rain.

Head-hunting.—The Katab, like all his neighbours, was a head-hunter, if by that term is meant the practice of severing the heads of enemies slain in battle and carrying them home in triumph to be deposited in the house of skulls. When he had killed his enemy he cut off his head, put it in his bag, and made off at full speed. And when he was free from pursuit one of his friends made him drink immediately a concoction of the bark of the locust and male shea trees, at the same time striking him on the chest and back with locust-bean leaves. These rites were designed to protect the warrior from assault by the dead man's ghost. A companion or relative[1] was then given charge of the head, for the slayer had to avoid all contact with his trophy. The friend passed a twig of the prosopis oblonga tree

[1] One had to exercise discretion in choosing the person to whom one gave the head, or he might claim it as his own.

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727 through the dead man's cheek and, covering the head up with leaves of the locust-bean tree,[1] deposited it in his bag. And then they hastened home. As they neared the town the companion gave the war-cry to announce his friend's success, the warrior himself maintaining silence and throughout the succeeding rites behaving with an excess of modesty. Festivities began at once. The men turned out in their war paint, the women yodelled and kept beating the captured head with branches of locust-beans. The slayer rode round on his horse,[2] brandishing a knife in his right hand (also a Ganawuri custom), while the 727 slayer's friend danced round holding the head. One of the first 751 duties of the head-getter on reaching home was to go to the house of the priest who had charge of the head-hunting rites,[3] 266 the Magajin Elenowum, and receive a further dose of protective medicine consisting of two mouthfuls of palm and mahogany oil and a small piece of the flesh of the skull. The Katab scorn the idea that they were ever cannibals, and this rite of eating a small piece of the flesh of the skull is of peculiar interest as proving that one purpose at least of cannibalism had the "religious" object of destroying the dead enemy's soul. The Ganawuri were admittedly cannibal, and the flesh of the skull was eaten by the priestly family, which had charge of the head-hunting rites, the rest of the body being eaten by the elders of the village. Among the Kagoro the protective medicine administered included a few drops of blood taken from the captured head. The warrior spent that night and the succeeding nights in the house of the priest and, covered in a cloth, was subjected to a process of fumigation by the smoke of the branches of certain trees. The intention again was to shake off pursuit by the dead man's soul. (Among the Berom a head-winner hid in a neighbouring village; and among the Chawai he hid in a friend's hut, while his body was anointed with a filthy smelling mixture of porcupine entrails, etc.) Next morning the Katab warrior, accompanied 727 by the local priest, had to go to Shokwa where the chief priestly family of the whole Katab tribe resides. The priest (Teowap)

[1] The Yergum block the nose, mouth, and ears of the severed head to prevent, apparently, the escape of the dead man's soul. Locust-bean leaves are also prominent in the Chawai, Piti, and Tangale head-hunting rites.

[2] Among the Kagoro the head-winner was carried round on the shoulders of his friends.

[3] Among the Piti, Chawai, Kagoro and Ganawuri the captured head was also immediately taken to the sacred grove or handed over to the Chief Priest.

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held up the head, and, putting a little digitaria porridge in his mouth, spat it out over the head, saying to the head-winner: "I thank you. Good fortune go with you, and may you get many more heads." On the same day they returned to their own town, where the festivities were continued for a further two days. On the fifth day the head-winner, the local priest, and friends took the head to the village of the warrior's maternal uncle or grandfather, who congratulated his nephew and slew a goat to celebrate the occasion. A feast was held and the uncle gave his nephew a hoe, bidding him use the iron of the hoe to fashion fresh spears and arrows that he might go and give further proof of his prowess. The nephew then returned to his home, where he was ever afterwards saluted as "mwaliak", the right hand being held up to him. The uncle buried the head in mud, and left it there until it was completely cleaned of all flesh.[1] He then took the head and a jar of beer to the nephew's village, where a feast, attended by warriors and old men, was held. The head-winner was once more given a protective draught, and his body was smeared with mahogany oil. The head was finally handed to the local priest who deposited it in the skull hut.[2] This hut had a small entrance, and the skulls were hung up inside on an ant-proof rafter of the roof. Every harvest the priest offered thanks, taking out the skulls, and spitting on them fragments of porridge made from the first-fruits of digitaria millet.

The noteworthy points about the rites are: (*a*) the use by the head-winner of protective medicines, and the avoidance of his own hut at night time; (*b*) the swallowing (without chewing) of a small piece of the flesh of the captured head; (*c*) the recognition of Shokwa as the priestly father of the tribe; (*d*) the important part played by the head-winner's maternal relatives; (3) the head-winner only considered the act of getting a head as a means of distinction; there was no underlying religious idea such as that the dead enemy would be his slave in a future life.

It may be added that the Zaria Hausa and Fulani never had sufficient control over the tribe to interfere with head-hunting.

[1] But at the conclusion of the feast the head was often boiled and cleaned by the Magajin Elenowum instead of being buried in mud whence it might be stolen.

[2] Some sections of the tribe had special "skull huts". In others the skulls were hung up in the Magajin Elenowum's hut.

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The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje. But an agreement was finally reached between them that all heads taken should be returned. The mode of concluding peace between two tribes was for two elders from each side to meet on the boundary, each with a human head taken from the other side. The two heads were then buried together. The Magajin Elenowum was not merely the custodian of human heads, but of the heads of all large animals killed by hunters. All quarry had to be brought to him and was cooked by him and distributed to the various families in proportion to their numbers. The term "elenowum" seems to mean "The boiler of Pots", and to have reference to his functions as the cook and distributor of game. It may be noted that, when anyone killed a leopard, rites somewhat similar to the head-hunting rites were performed. A feast was held, and the slayer had to receive protective medicines and sleep in the hut of the priest (Elenowum or Magajin Elenowum).

The Elenowum played a considerable part in the social life of the village. His person was sacrosanct, and in cases of disputes or ill-behaviour he would interfere, threatening with his curse those who refused to follow his advice. He could fine summarily anyone who committed an offence against religion, such as cutting down a tree in the sacred grove.

The Katab do not appear to have any rest day, but Sunday is in some respects regarded as a special day. The Katab Chief is installed on a Sunday, funeral feasts are begun on a Sunday, and Sunday is considered the best day for collecting medicines. Among the Kachichere a chief on appointment has to go into seclusion for seven days, beginning on a Sunday. One of the Kagoro hills was said to emit fire in bygone days every Friday and Sunday. The sacred character of Sunday among many Nigerian tribes does not appear to be due to any recent European influence. The sign of the cross is also common. The principal *obwai* hut of the Morwa has a black cross painted on the lintel of the door. The Chawai smear red crosses on certain of their sacred rocks, and it was said that the sign of the cross was always smeared on the captured head of an enemy. It is interesting to note that among the Chawai also a man who feels himself to be unlucky sacrifices a goat at the house of his dead father or grandfather and smears the blood on the lintel of the door.

Medicine and Diseases.—Illnesses and premature death are

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ascribed to witchcraft, and those who die of smallpox are believed to have been witches. Indeed, if a man is assailed by small-pox a bundle of grass is brought to him and he is asked to count out the number of those whom he has devoured. A full confession may save his life, but if he dies his guilt is proved, and his body is taken out of the hut by a hole made in the wall, his eyes are pierced (so that his disembodied spirit may never again be able to see anyone on whom he may fix his spells), and his corpse is buried without ceremony and without the customary lamentations. Most towns have their own leech (*obo*). The patient pays the cost of the medicine, and if he recovers bestows a gift on the leech. Cupping is practised in cases of fever; also inoculation for small-pox, the fluid being taken from the pustules of a man suffering from a mild attack and transfused into the blood of a healthy man, by means of a scratch made with a razor. For toothache wild olive oil is placed in the hollow of the decayed tooth. A red hot arrow is then inserted, and the tooth is split into pieces, which are extracted one by one. The Katab do not follow the Hausa custom of slitting the gums of a child. But the uvula is snipped off on naming day with the object of preventing attacks of quinsy or tonsilitis.

Death.—On the occurrence of death the women of the household give way to tears and lamentation, and men may also be seen weeping. All relatives are immediately informed, and messengers are dispatched to summon distant relatives such as the married sister of the deceased. The death of a chief (by chief is meant civil and not religious chief) is, however, kept secret for a period of seven days, none but the closest senior relatives, the grave-diggers, and the priests of Elenowum and Obwai being informed. Interment follows as soon as possible—in the evening if the deceased had died in the morning, in the morning if he had died during the previous evening. But a chief is always buried at night, for no one but those whose duty it is to bury him may look on his corpse. The body, covered with a cloth jumper, is wrapped in a mat of plaited palm fronds. (But a chief is buried in a gown.) Burial is, for commoners and chief, in the compound, and a fresh grave is used for each body. Old men and chiefs are buried underneath the entrance hut of the compound. Those who die of smallpox are denied burial rites, the corpse being wrapped in a mat and deposited in the bush.

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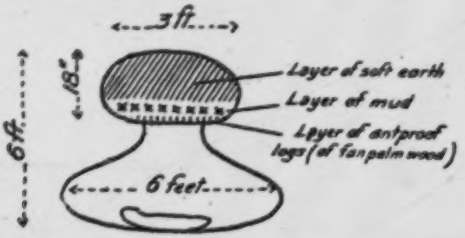
764 The grave is of the decanter-shaped type, as in the following plan :—



One of the grave-diggers enters the grave to receive the body. Another stands at the neck to hand it down. The body is laid to rest in the extended position, a man being laid on his right side facing east, a woman on her left side facing west (which is the usual Hausa mode of interment). As the body is placed in position the relatives give vent to pious utterances such as "May God (Gwaza) receive you, and may God refrain from taking any more of us". A chief is laid on a platform of sticks on which a mat is spread. The neck of the grave is blocked with logs of the trunk of the fan palm (which are ant-proof) and these are plastered over with a layer of mud. The excavated earth is then piled on top, raising a mound above the surface level, in order to prevent the rain washing out the grave. If the deceased had been a man of importance a stone is set up on the top of the grave in order that the site of the grave may be known to descendants who may wish to make offerings to their dead ancestor.

After the interment horns are blown if the deceased had been moderately old; but if young, all further rites are waived. There is no dancing over the grave (as among the pagan tribes of Bornu). Beer is then drunk, the priest of Elenowum saying: "So-and-so has died; may he rest in peace, and may his house increase." A goat may be killed by the senior relatives and shared by the relatives and friends, the priest receiving a major share. If the deceased had been a chief the priest of Elenowum 764 sacrificed the goat himself and shared with those who had helped at the burial, carefully burying the blood in order that none 622 may suspect that the chief had died. The secret of the chief's 177 death was maintained for seven days, and was then disclosed to his immediate relatives (who no doubt were already fully aware

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of the fact) and was publicly announced some three or four weeks later by beating the royal drum and summoning relatives from far and wide, goats being killed, and a feast held. These rites are probably a late importation from other tribes, as the Katab originally never had any chiefs in the present sense of the word.

It was customary in former times that eight days after the death of an old important man a human skull and the skulls of a buffalo, hartebeest, and roan (obtained from the priest of Elenowum) were displayed, one on each hut of the deceased's compound. This is interesting as showing that the skull cult was in some way identified with the cult of the dead, but the Katab are not able to suggest in what way. The skulls would not, they said, be put on the top of a house in which a woman was weaning a child, as that would cause the speedy death of the child. The widow goes into mourning, and, on the conclusion of her mourning, a feast is held, the skulls being returned to the priest of Elenowum.

The real funeral feast, however, must take place in the dry season, as it would be impossible during the rains to assemble relatives who were busy with their farming duties. The funeral feast is, therefore, held after harvest and lasts for two days. It is held not at the graveside, but in an open space in the village. The women of the town in which the old man or woman had died prepare the beer. The senior male relatives go to the *obwai* hut, and after a symposium accompanied by the beating of a double-barrelled pottery vase which emits a hollow deathlike tone they come forth and join in a general dance accompanied by drums, horns, and zithers (imported from the Bauchi Plateau). One of the songs sung at the dance is sung in Hausa, as the Katab say that none of their own songs are so euphousion :—

" Baban dorina, dama rua, wa ka shiga ?
(Mighty hippopotamus, disturber of the waters, who can enter there ?)
Dodon Gwari, giwa da ragama,
(Spook of the Gwari, elephant with a headstall)
Yayan Bakwa, suna hana giwa dawa
(Sons of the Hausa, who drive away the elephant)
Kajin giddarku su je su kwana lafiya
(Chickens of your household may they go and sleep in peace)
Akwian giddarku su je su kwana lafiya
(Goats of your household may they go and sleep in peace)
Yayan giddarku su je su kwana lafiya
(Children of your household may they go and sleep in peace)."

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765 *Mourning Customs.*—A widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one to two months (varying in accordance with the worldly status of the deceased husband). At the end of this period she is shaven and washed in the river by female relatives. If she is [587] still comparatively young she will have a suitor, and he will, at the conclusion of her mourning, present her with a goat, etc., that she may be able to provide a feast for friends and relatives. Males do not engage in mourning rites. If, therefore, a man loses his wife he summons a married sister to come and perform the rites on his behalf. She remains in seclusion during the period of mourning, and allows her hair to grow long. On the conclusion of the rites she returns to her husband's village.

613 622 648 *Government and Law.*—It may be surmised that, prior to the time when they came under the Habe of Zaria, the Katab tribe consisted of a number of unconsolidated groups without any central organization. Each group or sub-clan may have acknowledged the authority of its own Magajin Elenowum in things spiritual and temporal, but the existing system of sub-clan chiefs charged with executive and administrative powers seems to have been evolved in order to regulate the relations of the tribe with the Habe of Kauru, who had established their suzerainty over the Katab long before they themselves became subject to the Bornu-Fulani dynasty of Zaria at the beginning of last century.

648 622 554 778 The Hausa town of Zangon Katab was founded during the early Kauru régime as a caravanserai for Hausa traders, and as a base from which the Kauru chiefs could extract tribute from the Katab and exercise such administrative control as was necessary for this purpose. In the matter of tribute it would appear that the Kauru chiefs dealt direct with each village area, ignoring the clan organization. But for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty was sworn on the sacred sword which was a characteristic feature of the Zaria polity. Sacred swords were granted to chiefs of importance throughout the Zaria dominions and treated with the utmost awe by the recipients, who guarded them closely and sprinkled them regularly with the blood of a chicken or goat. Minor chiefs and village headmen were not granted a sword, but were sworn in on a sword specially

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sent from Kauru for the purpose. The Katab headmen were treated in this way and, when a new headman was appointed, a messenger was sent from the chief of Kauru with the sword wrapped in a mat. The messenger was given numerous presents (a goat, bags of millet, salt, a dish of butter, and 10,000 cowries) and the ceremony of swearing-in was then performed. "Here is the sword," he said; "if you swear that you will do no mischief, and will hide nothing from us you will be established. But if you engage in intrigue this sword will kill you." The headman swore to be faithful for ever, and was then allowed a fleeting glance at the sword, the case being slightly opened. A feast was held, and the messenger returned to Kauru with the sword. The present district headman of the Katab area obtained two of these swords from Kauru and uses them in the same way to-day. He has issued one to each of the heads of the sub-clans, Aswen and Fakan, and these headmen use the swords for swearing in minor officials of the sub-clan. No village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword.

The sword shown to me was shaped thus, the handle having been injured :—

The length was about two feet. Numerous other chiefs of Nigerian tribes have sacred swords. Some are believed to have been brought from the Yemen by the forefathers of the chief. (But those examined were of Prussian manufacture.)

When the Bornu-Fulani dynasty displaced the Habe of Zaria, Kauru came under the new régime and the Katab continued to function as an appendage of Kauru. (Morwa, however, dealt

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direct with Zaria.) The Makama of Zaria was the Kauru "intermediary" (*kofa*), and the Galadiman Makama used to accompany the chief of Kauru on his annual visit to Zangon Katab, when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town. The Katab were not always, however, under control and would, on occasion, unite to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants. Occurrences such as this were exceptional, for it was admitted that normally all Katab who committed serious offences were sent to Kauru to be sold into slavery. Thus one guilty of murder or burglary was dispatched to Kauru. He might be ransomed by his relatives, but as the ransom for a murderer was four slaves, the relatives seldom exercised the privilege. Minor offences could be dealt with locally. A small theft committed by a fellow clansman would be dealt with privately, the thief receiving a thrashing and being made to restore the stolen property. Or he might he haled before the sub-clan chief and elders (the elders generally acquiescing in the decision of the chief). The thief would be made to restore the stolen property and be mulcted in a fine, two-thirds of which would go to the complainant, the remaining one-third being divided among the chief and elders. An adulterer would also be haled before the chief and fined; but if he was a fellow clansman the injured husband would say nothing beyond abusing his wife. Disputes as to the paternity of children were determined by the administration of sass-wood to chickens representing the contending parties. Those charged with witchcraft were required to drink the sass-wood personally; but the permission of the sub-clan head had to be obtained before trials by ordeal could be held. Owing to the custom of contracting sub-marriages, disputes as to the paternity of children were, and still are, of daily occurrence. The complainant (the prior husband) went with the elders of his town to the town of his former wife's parents. The new husband also appeared, accompanied by his elders, and the matter was threshed out before the seniors of all three villages, the protagonists being the woman and her former husband. If the matter could not be decided the late husband and the new husband each produced a chicken and sass-wood was administered. The case was decided in favour of the man whose chicken survived.

This question of the contraction of sub-marriages and the

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This question of the contraction of sub-marriages and the 691
resultant disputes as to the paternity of children has exercised 582
the minds of the Administration for many years. It is horrifying to both the Muslim and the European mind that an enceinte woman should abandon her husband and bring forth and wean a child in the house of a rival husband. The repugnance felt towards the practice and the unceasing court cases which it entailed led everyone, including the Katab chiefs themselves, to the conclusion that the best method of dealing with the Gordian knot was to cut it. And so proposals were brought forward that a woman who was enceinte should not contract a sub-marriage with another man until she had weaned her child, and that rival suitors or parents who influenced or harboured "fugitive" wives should be punished. The Katab chiefs, if they did not actually suggest these alterations in their tribal custom, at any rate agreed, but when the new rules were about to be promulgated they suddenly dissented, realizing that the matter was not so simple as it had appeared, and that the alteration would strike at the very basis of their social life. And so at the last moment the suggested innovations were abandoned, and the present position in Zaria Province is that a man whose wife runs off to another man, and whom he believes to be enceinte by him, must immediately notify the Court. Paternity disputes have in consequence diminished. This rule has been adopted in the Plateau Province by those tribes who are independent; but, if my information is correct, in the Iya's district of the Jema'a Division rules have been lately introduced forbidding a woman who is enceinte or weaning a child to contract a sub-marriage. If this is so, it means, in practice, that the Administration is putting a stop to the contraction of sub-marriages, on which the present social organization largely depends. Quite apart from that, the rule is likely to cause more trouble than it removes.

The sub-clan head had not a great deal of authority, being 613
simply an intermediary between the sub-clan and the foreign 554
rulers. He had nothing to do with the assignment of or collection of taxes, as the Kauru rulers dealt direct with the villages in such matters. He was, however, the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers, and could summon the village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. In judicial matters he could deal with minor offences, but took as little responsibility as possible, referring to Kauru all important matters or those

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613 554 likely to embroil him with his fellow-clansmen. His position was never so strong that he could call on his clansmen to perform such personal services as the repair of his house or the clearing of his farm.

622 651 The position of the village-head was even more unenviable. It was his business to apportion the tax, which might be a horse or slave, or several, according to the size of the village. To obtain this he called on each householder to provide as much corn or cash as would suffice to buy the slave required. He had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru. But apart from these imposed duties he was careful to mind his own business. [152 626] Any excessive zeal would be rewarded by an arrow. The Katab was quick to seize his bow even against his nearest relatives, and it was not uncommon for a village-head to take refuge in Kauru until the anger of his fellow-villagers had subsided.

It would appear that in the early days the Aswen sub-clan was recognized as the senior Katab clan, the chief of Aswen receiving an acknowledgment of his position in the form of the forelegs of larger game killed. But in later times the sub-clan of Fakan assumed the rôle formerly held by Aswen. Fakan, however, was merely *primus inter pares*. If one sub-clan had a dispute with another the matter was referred to a disinterested group. Thus, if the Agbat had a dispute with the Aswen, the Fakan sub-clan was called in as an intermediary. If Fakan had a dispute with Nje, the Aswen clan was asked to adjudicate, and so on.

642 The present position is that the Katab (with the Ikulu and Kaje) are administered from Zaria by a resident district headman with the title of Katuka, who is directly responsible to the 642 Emir of Zaria. The sub-clan and clan headman have no executive 692 authority outside the limits of their own village-areas, but they combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters, the chief of the sub-clan Aswen being at the moment president of the court. The sub-clan and 642 elders also, in accordance with native custom, form a deliberative 646 assembly, and I witnessed a meeting of this assembly which 201 had been convened to discuss certain matters referred to them by the district headman. The Magajin Mugu of the Aswen sub-clan spoke first, and was followed in turn by the other sub-clan headmen. As each finished speaking the most senior men

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present went up to him and saluted him by pulling his beard and cracking fingers with him as a sign of agreement with all he had said.

A full schedule of words and phrases is attached. From this it will be seen that Katab is less Bantoid than some of the neighbouring languages such as Kurama. Nevertheless, it must be included in the Middle Zone group. It may be noted that tone is of considerable importance. Thus the plural may be indicated by a change of tone (e.g. "horse" = tsāī, but "horses" = tsāí; "chief" = āgwām, but "chiefs" = āgwám). The commonest method of indicating the plural is, however, by a change of prefix. Thus, "house" = nyuo, "houses" = kanyo; "dog" = obu, "dogs" = kabu; "cow" = nyak, "cows" = inyak.

KATAB

1. Head	epio	ɛpio
2. Hair	pio pio	pio pio
3. Eye	eli	ɛli
Two eyes	lili feang	lɪli feaŋ
4. Ear	fufwo	FuFwo
Two ears	fufwo feang	FuFwo feaŋ
5. Nose	zuai	zuai
6. One tooth	anyung anyung	anjuŋ anjuŋ
Five teeth	anyung ofwon	anjuŋ ofwɔn
7. Tongue	elyam	ɛʎam
8. Neck	fuwo	fuwo
9. Breast (woman's)	abān (pl. = buban)	aban
10. Heart	lio	lio
11. Belly	kāfā (*or* tsuo)	kafa (*or* tsuo)
12. Back	zama	zama
13. Arm	bwak	bwa:k
14. Hand	taim bwak	taɪm bwak
Two hands	taim bwar	taɪm feaŋ
15. Finger	gasong	gasɔŋ
Five fingers	gasong tsuen	gasɔŋ tsuɛn
16. Finger nail	gafwo	gafwɔ
17. Leg	tak	ta:k
18. Knee	okhwut	oxwut
19. Foot	ataitak	ataɪta:k
Two feet	titak afeang	tɪta:k afeaŋ
20. Man (person)	etubishi	ɛtubɪʃi
Ten people	enubishi suak (*or* eni sak)	ɛnubɪʃi sua:k (*or* ɛn sa:k)
21. Man (not woman)	atiok	atiɔk
Two men	atuor afeang	atuɔr afeaŋ

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PLATE 8

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A TRIBAL COUNCIL

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22. Woman	abiyuk (*or* eshi)	abijuk (*or* ɛʃi)
Two women	anyurafeang	anjur afeaŋ
23. Child (male)	bangwon	baŋgwɔn
24. Father	atio (pl. = yatio)	ətio (pl. = jatio)
25. Mother	ayang (pl. = yayang	ajaŋ (pl. = jajaŋ)
26. Slave	okhwo (pl. = yakhwo)	ɔxwo (pl. = jaxwo)
27. Chief	agwam (pl. = yag-wam)	əgwam (pl. = jag-wam)
28. Friend	tába	təba
29. Smith	ofu (pl. = yafu)	ofu (pl. = jafu)
30. Doctor	obok	ɔbɔk
31. One finger	gasong zhung	gasɔŋ ʒuŋ
32. Two fingers	gasong tseang	gasɔŋ tseaŋ
33. Three fingers	gasong sat	gasɔŋ sa:t
34. Four fingers	gasong nyai	gasɔŋ ɲjai
35. Five fingers	gasong fwon	gasɔŋ fwɔn
36. Six fingers	gasong atar	gasɔŋ ətaːr
37. Seven fingers	gasong natat	gasɔŋ natat
38. Eight fingers	gasong ninai	gasɔŋ nɪnai
39. Nine fingers	gasong kubuyung	gasɔŋ kubuj̃uŋ
40. Ten fingers	gasong suak (*or* sa:k)	gasɔŋ sa:k
41. Eleven fingers	gasong sak mong gwoingyung	gasɔŋ sa:k mɔŋ gwɔɪŋjuŋ
42. Twelve fingers	gasong sak mong gwo feang	gasɔŋ sa:k mɔŋ gwɔ feaŋ
Thirteen fingers	gasong sak mong gwo tat	gasɔŋ sa:k mɔŋ gwɔ tat
43. Twenty fingers	gasong song feang	gasɔŋ sɔŋ feaŋ
44. A hundred fingers	gasong chi	gasɔŋ tʃi
45. Two hundred fingers	gasong chi feang	gasɔŋ tʃi feaŋ
46. Four hundred fingers	gasong chi nyai	gasɔŋ tʃi ɲjai
47. Sun	mam	mam
God	Gwaza	gwaza
Sky	choadza	tʃoadza
48. Moon	zuat	zuat
Full moon	asainzuat	asainzuat
New moon	zuasai	zuasai
49. Day	mam	mam
Night	tietuk	tiɛtuk
Morning	chochon	tʃotʃɔn
50. Rain	za	za
51. Water	sokhwot	sɔxwɔt
52. Blood	esuok	ɛsuɔk
53. Fat	kiche	kɪtʃe
54. Salt	imfak	ɪmfa:k
55. Stone	kafang	kafaŋ (pl. = ɪmfaŋ)
Iron	cham	tʃam
56. Hill	ugut (*or* chok)	ugut (*or* tʃɔk)

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57.	River	evwi	ɛvui
	Stream	chen	tʃɛn
58.	Road	vak (*or* telien)	vak (*or* tɛliɛn)
59.	House	nyô	njô
	Two houses	kanyô feang	kanjô feaŋ
	Many houses	kanyô shi ɛpa	kanjô ʃi ɛpa
	All the houses	kanyô ogbom (*or* ogbom okanyo)	kanjô ɔgbɔm (*or* ɔgbɔm okanjo)
60.	Roof	taravwo (*or* ateem)	taravwo (*or* ateɛm)
61.	Door	zanwai (*or* nangyo)	zanuwəi (*or* naŋjo)
62.	Mat	akpang	akpaŋ
63.	Basket	acheang	atʃeaŋ
64.	Drum	bin	bin
65.	Pot	alen	alɛn
66.	Knife	obai	ɔbāi
67.	Spear	jong	dʒɔŋ
68.	Bow	etá	ɛta
69.	Arrow	khiet	xiɛt
	Five arrows	khiɛn fwon	xiɛn fwɔn
70.	Gun	bindaga	bindaga
71.	War	jong	dʒɔŋ
72.	Meat (animal)	nam	nam
73.	Elephant	zhwom	ʒwɔm
74.	Buffalo	zat	zat
75.	Leopard	tyo	tjɔ
76.	Monkey	okho	ɔxo
77.	Pig	za	za
78.	Goat	juen (*or* jon)	dʒuɛn (*or* dʒɔn)
79.	Dog	ogbu (*or* obu)	ɔgbu (*or* ɔbu)
80.	Bird	aman	aman
81.	Feather	chat aman	tʃat aman
82.	Fowl	miuan (*or* yuan)	yuan—y = semi-vowel as in Fr. puis
83.	Eggs	chi	tʃi
84.	One egg	echi miuan	etʃi miuan
85.	Snake	juwak	dʒuʌk
86.	Frog	umbwat	umbwat
87.	Spider	taneang	taneaŋ
88.	Fly	chunchun	tʃuntʃun
89.	Bee	shwai	ʃwəi
	Honey	tong	tɔŋ
90.	Tree	okwon	ɔkwɔn
	Ten trees	kakwon sa:k	kakwɔn sa:k
91.	Leaf	ochucho (*or* ikikyo)	ɔtʃutʃo (*or* ɪkɪkjo)
92.	Banana	ayamba	ajamba
93.	Maize	sûwa Kpat (Okpat = the Hausa people)	suwa kpat
	Guinea-corn	sūwāt	suwat
95.	Ground nut	shuwi (*or* shwi)	ʃuwi (*or* ʃwi)
95.	Oil	khyau	xiau

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96.	The tall woman	eshi eza	ɛʃi eza
	The tall woman	eshir eza	ɛʃir eza
97.	Large dog	gwandangobu	gwandaŋ ɔbu
98.	Small dog	bachinchor obu	batʃɪntʃɔr ɔbu
99.	The dog bites	obu kan yuai	ɔbu kan juəi
100.	The dog bites me	obu kam mabnung	ɔbu kam mabnuŋ
101.	The dog which bit me yesterday	obu kam mabnung lio	ɔbu kam mabnuŋ liɔ
102.	I flog the dog	nan chore bu	nan tʃɔrɛbu
	Another said	in chor obu	ɪn tʃɔr ɔbu
103.	The dog which I have flogged	obu ka nang chɔt	ɔbu ka naŋ tʃɔt
104.	I see him I see her	in di gu	ɪn di gu
	He sees us	a lin zit	a lɪn zit
	He sees you	sing. = a lian ; pl. = a li nyin	sing. = a lian ; pl. = a li njɪn
	We see you (pl.)	zu li nyin	zu li njɪn
	We see them	zu li ba	zu li ba
105.	Beautiful bird	aman kayeresham	aman kajɛrɛʃam
106.	Slave	okhwo	ɔxwo
	My slave	okhwo-nu	ɔxwonu
	Thy slave	okhwan	ɔxwan
	Our slaves	okhwonzit	ɔxwɔnzɪt
107.	The Chief's slave	okhwo gwam	ɔxwo gwam
	His slave	okhwongo	ɔxwɔngo
108.	We see the slave	zu li okhwo	zu lu ɔxwo
109.	We call the slave	zi ye okhwo	zi je ɔxwo
110.	The slave is coming	okhwo cho bai	ɔxwo tʃo bəi
111.	He came yesterday	a bai lio	a bəi lio
	He is coming today	acho bai ofun	a tʃɔ bəi ɔfun
	He will come tomorrow	obai chochan	ɔ bəi tʃɔtʃʌn
112.	The slaves go away	yakhwo bai nat	jaxwo bəi nat
113.	Who is your Chief?	yayerɛ agwaman?	jajɛrɛ əgwaman
114.	The two villages are making war on each other	akayan afaiyan okwan jon bô ajiang	akajan afəijan okwan dʒɔn bô adʒiaŋ
115.	The sun rises	mam simbau	mam sɪmbəu
	The sun has risen	mam gwut	mam gwut
	The sun sets	mam kwe	mam kwe
116.	The man is eating	etubishi {sin yi yak / ya yak}	ɛtubɪʃi {sɪn jɪjak / ja jak}
117.	The man is drinking	etubishi ya tiak	ɛtubɪʃi ja tiak

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118.	The man is asleep	etubishi kainde	etubɪʃi kəinde
119.	I break the stick	in fwe shanje	ɪn fwe ʃandʒe
	This stick is broken	shanje fwe	ʃandʒe fwe
	This stick cannot be broken	shan lak fwe	ʃan lak fwe
	Break this stick for me	fwen sijini shanje	fwen sidʒini ʃandʒe
120.	I have built a house	inok inyo	inɔk injɔ
121.	My people have built their houses yonder (ali = compound ; nyô = hut)	anenung via nɔk ali ejo (*or* anenung via nok nyu ejo)	anenuŋ via nɔk al ɛdʒo (*or* anenuŋ via nɔk nju ɛjo)
122.	What do you do every day ?	zan tam khwana nang anyo kozatuk	zan tam xwana naŋ anjo kozatuk
	I work on my farm	in kab ma binnung	ɪn ka:b ma bɪnnuŋ
123.	I am going away	nāt	na:t
	I am hoeing	in kab	ɪn ka:b
	I am going away to hoe	nā kāb	na: ka:b
	I am going to my farm	nā mbinnung	na: mbɪnnuŋ
124.	The woman comes	ebiyo so bai	ɛbijo sɔ bəe
	She comes	echobai	etʃɔbəi
	The woman laughs	ebiyo o mai	ɛbijo o məi
	The woman weeps	ebiyo wu tuai	ɛbijo wu tuəi
125.	I ask the woman	in di babiyuk	ɪn di babijuk
126.	Why do you laugh ?	yukhwa a mai	juxwa a məi
127.	Why do you cry ?	yukhwa tuai	juxwa tuəi
128.	My child is dead	gwonung fwu	gwɔnuŋ fwu
129.	It is not dead	okhwu ba	ɔxwu ba
130.	Are you ill ?	a yem okhuwa (*or* afor nyin nyan ba)	ajɛm ɔxuɯa (*or* afɔr njɪn njan ba)
131.	My children are ill	mannung gna for nyin nyan ba	mannuŋ gna fɔr yɪn njaŋ ba
132.	Her child is better	gwongu ka fok nyinnyang	gwɔngu ka fɔk njɪn njaŋ
133.	Yes	i	i:
	No	ee	ee
134.	A fine knife	abai yeresham	abəi jɛrɛʃam
	Give me the knife	mwag nung a baika (*or* nang no abai)	mwagnuŋ a bəika (*or* naŋ no abəi)
	I give you the knife	ing nwaga abaika (*or* injong abai	ɪŋ mwaga abəika (*or* ɪndʒɔŋ abəi)
135.	I am a European	ingere teo bature (*or* in get bature)	ɪŋgɛrɛ teo bature (*or* ɪn gɛt bature)
	You are a black man	wan yere dunjur etubishi (*or* nungwa junjun)	wan jere dundʒun ɛtubɪʃi (*or* nuŋwa dʒundʒun)

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	You are a Katab naming tribe	wa yere teo Tyap	wa jɛrɛ teo tjap
136.	Name	aliōt	alioːt
	My name	aliornung	aliornuŋ
	Your name	alioran	alioran
	What is your name ?	aye anyan	ajɛ anjan
137.	There is water in the gourd	sokhwot shi ma kurum	sɔxwɔt ʃi ma kurum
	The knife is on the stone	obai she chaz zwa opan	ɔbai ʃe tʃaz zwa ɔpan
	The fire is under the pot	long she atar alen	lɔŋ ʃe atar alɛn
	The roof is over the hut	taravo chadza onyo	taravo tʃadza ɔnjo
138.	You are good	wa yeresham	wa jɛrɛʃam
	This man is bad	atuni a li bebio	atuni a li bɛbiɔ
139.	The paper is white	takarda hu sai	takarda hu sai
	This thing is black	kianghune hu shishi	kiaŋhune hu ʃiʃi
	This thing is red	kianghune hu shishong	kiaŋhune hu ʃiʃɔŋ
140.	This stone is heavy	afang kani ki shan piep	afaŋ kani kə ʃan piɛp
	This stone is not heavy	afang kani ki shan piep ba	afaŋ kani kə ʃan piɛp ba
141.	I write	anyo rubutu	anjo rubutu
	I give you the letter	in mwarān takarda	ɪn mwaraːn takarda
	Carry the letter to the town	nar ma takarda chin wak	nar ma takarda tʃɪn wak
142.	Go away	nat	nat
	Come here	bai	bai
143.	Where is your house ?	elianka sheje	ɛlianka ʃedʒe
144.	My house is here	elinung shi eji	ɛlinuŋ ʃi ɛdʒi
	My house is there	elinung shi ejau	ɛlinuŋ ʃi ɛdʒəu
145.	What have you to sell ?	yikhwanyu su liai	jɪxwanju su liai
146.	I want to buy fish	in chat in san fan	ɪn tʃat ɪn san fʌn
147.	The fish which you bought is bad	afan kanang a san lio ka yɛt ba	afʌn kanaŋ a san lio ka jɛt baː
148.	Where is the man who killed the elephant ?	za tubishi gwo buzh-womje ?	za tubɪʃi gwɔ bu ʒwɔmdʒe
	He has killed many elephants	abwai zhwom melidit	abwɛi ʒwɔm mɛlɪdɪt
	How many elephants were killed yester-day	zhwom nine jija a sha lio	ʒwɔm nɪne dʒidʒa a ʃa lio

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149.	Untie it	biyukgu	bijukgu
	Tie this rope	lap eyu yanka	lap ɛjujanka
	Make the boy untie the goat	tie bangwon ka biyuk jon	tiɛ bangwɔn ka bijuk dʒɔn
150.	My brothers and I, we are going but no one else	nung banga nanyurnung zinat zirany-inzit	nuŋ baŋa nanjurnuŋ zɪnat zɪranjɪnzɪt
	Brothers, let us go and tell the Chief	nanyurnung bai zinat zi his ma gwam	nanjurnuŋ bai zinat zi his ma gwam
151.	This tree is bigger than that	akwon kane ka nare si kane mishi	akwon kane ka nare sɪ kane mɪʃi

(nare = exceed ; mishi = size)

Last night I was in my house with a white man. We heard a noise outside. He said, " Do you hear that ; they are thieves ; let us go out and see." We went out. I said : " Who are you ? " They answered, " Nothing." But I said, " You are thieves." Then we called the police and put them in prison.

Lio ta tuk in she mali nung, dung yang ganet bature (*or* bang bature iyang). Du fok mochi tosa (*or* zizi fok mochi tosa) ; gugo sihio, " fok tuni ; tambiya babiya (*or* ekhiene, " a fok aliena ; etangvia) ; yok zu wut zu li." zu wut. na hio : " yin yine yan bia ? " se basi chim, " kiang sheva." nung inhio, " yin etangvia." se zi je dogare, zut tiaba a sarka.

Lio tə tuk in ʃe mali nuŋ, duŋ jaŋ ganet bature (or baŋ bature ijaŋ). du fɔk motʃi tɔsa (*or* zizi fɔk motʃi tɔsa). gugɔ sɪhɪo, " fɔk tuni ; tambija babija (*or* ɛxiene, " afɔk aliena ; ɛtaŋvia) ; jɔk zu wut zu li." zu wut. na hio, " jɪn jɪnɛ jan bia ? " se basi tʃɪm, " kiaŋ ʃeva." nuŋ ɪnhio, " jɪn ɛtaŋvia." Se zi je dogare, zut tiaba a sarka.

The Kachichere

The Kachichere, who call themselves the Aticherak (atɪʃɛra:k) and are known to the Katab as the Tichat (titʃa:t), are an insignificant tribe of 620 persons, of whom 470 are located in the Chawai district of Zaria Province and 150 in the Katab district. They state that they were once much more numerous and occupied a large proportion of the country now occupied by the Katab, but that the tribe was almost wiped out by a volcanic eruption which occurred about 150 years ago. This is quite probable, as there are numerous craters in the district.

101 161 731

There is no tribal organization, those in the Chawai district forming village-areas under the Chief of Chawai, and those in

619 648

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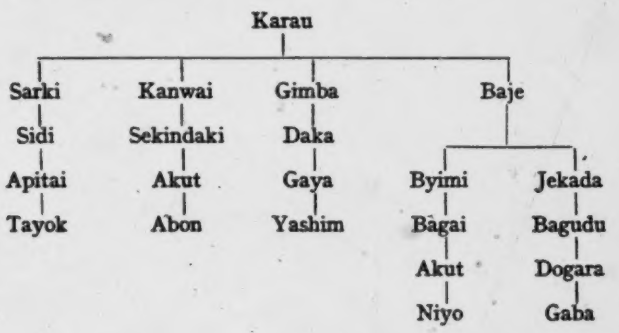
619 the Katab district being administered by the Katuka, both of
648 whom are district headmen of the Emir of Zaria. In former times they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chiefs of Kajuru, from whom the Kachichere Chief received the sacred sword which was, in pre-Fulani days, the emblem of office.

619 I spent two days among the Kachichere, my inquiries being merely directed towards ascertaining the character of the social
614 organization. The tribe, if it can be called a tribe, consists of four social groups: (1) the Ne-Tabin, (2) the Ne-Chobiam, (3) the Ne-Tiet, and (4) the Iningwa-Tiap.

The members of each group believe themselves to be blood
614 relatives, and as they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather, they may be regarded as kindreds rather than clans. The Ne-Tabin pedigree was given as follows:—



614 Each kindred constitutes for marriage purposes a single
582 exogamous unit; that is to say, no Tabin may marry a Tabin,
583 but a Tabin may marry a member of any of the other kindreds. There are no family totems, but all respect the crocodile and leopard. There is no grouping, as among the Katab, which permits of the contraction of sub-marriages by wife elopement. It is a taboo for any Kachichere to elope with the wife of any other Kachichere. Sub-marriages may, however, be contracted with wives obtained from neighbouring tribes.

614 The kindreds are not localised, but live together intermingled
621 in a single village-area. The civil Chief of the Kachichere of the Katuka's district belongs to the Tabin kindred, and his

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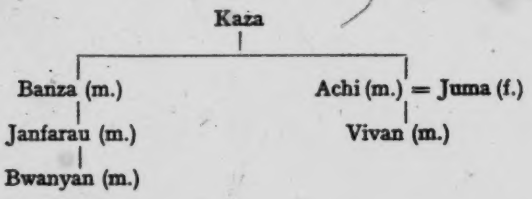
" madaiki " or second-in-command is a member of the Chobiam. Each kindred has a *magaji elenowum* of its own, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, the former belonging to the Tabin, and the latter to the Tiat. The rain-maker is known as the Atun Yevwo and performs his rites on the top of a hill. He also carries out rites to put a stop to blights by sprinkling digitaria millet on the farms.

Apart from the prohibition of wife abduction from members of their own tribe, the Kachichere marriage-laws closely resemble those of the Katab. Every Kachichere child has, however, to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments, the existing scale being 5s. for the first child, 4s. for the second, 3s. for the third, and so on.

The widows of a father or grandfather are heritable, and the following example of a " grandmother " marriage was obtained :—



On Achi's death Bwanyan inherited Juma, i.e. he inherited the widow of his grandfather's brother. Bwanyan was a mere lad and Juma was past the age of child-bearing, but Bwanyan slept regularly with Juma, and performed all the duties incumbent on a husband. If, for example, any aged member of Juma's family died, Bwanyan was required to send a goat for sacrifice to the senior member of Juma's family. The relationship terminology in use before the marriage was continued afterwards. Janfarau, for instance, continued to call Juma " Mother "; he did not adopt the rôle of " father-in-law " to Juma. Bwanyan similarly continued to call Vivan " Father ". But had Juma borne a child to Bwanyan, Janfarau would have treated the child as a grandson and not as a brother.

The Kachichere speak the same language as the Katab.

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PLATE 9

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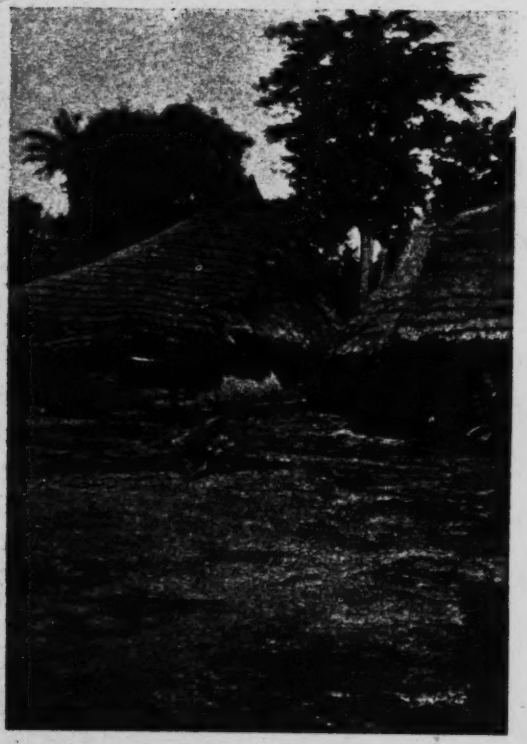

A KAGORO HOUSE

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KACHICHERE (Zaria Province).
(A dialect of Katab, *q.v.*)

1. Head	epio	ɛpio
2. Hair	epio	ɛpio
3. Eye	eli	ɛli
Two eyes	lili	lɪli feã
4. Ear	fufwo	FuFwo
Two ears	fufwo feang	feaŋ
5. Nose	zuai	zuai
6. One tooth	enyung enyung	ɛnjuŋ ɛnjuŋ
Five teeth	yungyung ofwon	juŋjuŋ ɔfwɔn
7. Tongue	elyam	ɛʎam
8. Neck	fuwo	fuwo
9. Breast (woman's)	abibein	abɪbɛɪn
10. Heart	alio	aliɔ
11. Belly	vam	vam
12. Back	azame	azame
13. Arm	bwak	bwa:k
14. Hand	atein bwak	atɛɪn bwak
Two hands	atein bwak afeang	atɛɪn bwak afeaŋ
15. Finger	gasuong	gasuɔŋ
Five fingers	gasuong suon	gasuɔŋ suɔn
16. Finger nail	gafwo	gafwɔ
17. Leg	tak	ta:k

Last night I was in my house with a white man; we heard a movement outside; he said, "they are thieves; let us go and see." We went and I said, "who are you?" and they answered, "nothing." But I said, "you are thieves"; so we called the police and put them in prison.

Lio shushun ashio mali nu eshi bang bature; zizi for lak atose; a se shio "atang bia; jong gwut ndi". sun gwut se nyem mongo "nyin nyan-nyan bia?" be si shim "kiang hwa ba". Amz sin shio "nyin atangwa"; hufwa singe dogari sin tie azan cham.

Lio ʃuʃun aʃɪɔ mali nu ɛʃɪ baŋ bature; zɪzɪ for la:k atɔse; a se ʃɪɔ "ataŋ bia; dʒɔŋ gwut ndi". sun gwut se njɛm mɔŋgo, "njɛm nyan-nyan bia?" be sɪ ʃɪm "kiang hwa ba?" ama sɪn ʃɪɔ (or sɪn çɪɔ) "njɛm ataŋwa"; hufwa sɪ nge dogari sɪn tie azan tʃam.

THE KAGORO

101 648 The Kagoro are a tribe of some 9,600 people, located in the Plateau Province to the south-west of the Katab and six or seven miles north of Jemaa. There is a tribe known as the Kagoro in French West Africa, and one as the Kaguru in British East

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101 Africa. They are an independent tribe, under the government
648 of a central chief, their independence having been conceded on the ground that the tribe was never wholly subservient to the Fulani Emirs of Jemaa. There is evidence, however, that these Emirs had at times sufficient influence to meddle in the internal affairs of the tribe, even to the extent of nominating the tribal chief. It is indeed probable that the existence of a central authority is due to this foreign influence. It would further appear that prior to the destruction by the Fulani of the power of Kajuru (Zaria Province) the Kagoro were to some extent subservient to Kajuru.

They state that they migrated to their present habitat from
101 the direction of Nimbia in the vicinity of Jemaa, but it is clear
174 that linguistically and culturally they belong to the same tribal group as the Katab and Morwa, with whom they freely intermarry. They dress in the same distinctive manner as the Katab, and live usually in the same peculiar type of house. It is noteworthy, however, that in some of the Kagoro villages the houses are of the round pattern, and this is said to be the more ancient. It would appear probable, therefore, that a fusion has taken place between the Kagoro, Katab, and Morwa within comparatively recent times, a fusion which has also embraced, though to a lesser extent, the neighbouring tribes of the Kaje, Jaba, Kagoma, and some sections of the Ikulu.

582 The social system throughout all these tribes follows a uniform pattern in two important respects, viz. that the tribe is organized for purposes of (*a*) marriage with girls not previously married, and (*b*) marriage by elopement with married women, the general rule being that the component units of the local group do not elope with each others' wives, but certain units of one local group either marry the daughters or steal the wives of members of certain sections of another local group, but may not (with rare exceptions) do both. That is to say, e.g. that the members of unit *a* of village-area *X* may marry the daughters of members of units *a*, *b*, *c* of village *Y*, but may not elope with their wives; they may elope with the wives of members of units *d*, *e*, *f* of village *Y*, but may not marry their daughters. Occasionally one unit of one town may both marry the daughters and steal the wives of a unit in some other town, but this appears to be quite exceptional and contrary to propriety. In certain cases

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582 one unit of one local group will neither marry the daughters nor steal the wives of a particular unit of another local group, on the ground of some supposed relationship. This brings us to the next point, which is that each of the units of the local group is exogamous, and that a number of these units may constitute a single exogamous section of the local group. As 582 a general rule the exogamous group of one town has a uniform 621 policy as regards intermarriage with another exogamous group in another town, i.e. they either steal the wives or marry the daughters of that other group. But the rule is not invariable, for occasionally one unit of the exogamous group in one town will steal the wives of a unit of the exogamous group in another town, while another unit of the same exogamous group will marry the daughters of the unit in the exogamous group in the other town. To take a few examples, the town of Fadan [162] Kagoro consists of eight local groups or wards, viz.: (i) Agwam (population 220), (ii) Lawat (pop. 182), (iii) Kadau (pop. 200); (iv) Mingyuo (pop. 253), (v) Mungwap (pop. 91), (vi) Akumat (pop. 42), (vii) Pagwar (pop. 25), (viii) Kachan (pop. 120). Each [611] ward is exogamous, and descent is patrilineal. If a stranger settles within a ward he and his children are not subject to the rule of exogamy. If a member leaves the ward and settles in the bush he remains subject to the exogamous rule. Wards (i), (ii), and (iii) constitute a single exogamous group on the ground of a common origin. They would make common cause if necessary against the other wards, and they are the possessors of the civil chieftainship. Wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii) do not constitute a single exogamous group; each ward may marry into any other ward with the exception that wards (v) and (vi) do not intermarry on the ground of having had a common forefather, nor do (vii) and (viii). Wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii) would make common cause against wards (i), (ii), and (iii). With them lies the religious chieftainship. The important members of wards (i), (ii), and (iii) may wear gowns, but the use of a gown is taboo in wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii), and no one wearing a gown is allowed to attend the religious rites. It will be seen, therefore, that there is in Fadan Kagoro something in the nature of a dual organization, i.e. two inter-marrying groups, one royal the other priestly, with potential hostility between the two.

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PLATE 10

A KAGORO GIRL

KAGORO WOMEN IN THE FIELDS

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582 621 [162] The town of Kukum contains the following wards (*a*) (i) Kutuk (pop. 224), (ii) Kasaya (pop. 236), (iii) Zupong (pop. 132), (iv) Kubwai (pop. 80), (v) Kundwak (pop. 250), (vi) Gwayit (pop. 90); (*b*) (vii) Sukulak (pop. 250); (*c*) (viii) Pagwat (pop. 100). Wards (i) to (vi) constitutes a single exogamous unit, (vii) and (viii) each constitutes a single exogamous unit. A member of Kutuk, therefore, may not marry a member of Kasaya, but he may marry a member of Sukulak. No one in Kukum may steal the wife of any other in Kukum. The members of the first six wards may marry the daughters of members of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and may steal the wives of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. Vice versa the members of Sukulak and Pagwat steal the wives of members of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and marry the daughters of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there was stated to be one exception, viz. that Pagwat do not either marry the daughters nor steal the wives of the Kachan ward of Fadan Kagoro.

[162] The town of Kpak consists of the following wards:—(*a*) (i) Chuot (pop. 210), (ii) Michen (pop. 168), (iii) Kuchok (pop. 205), (iv) Badamai (pop. 186); (*b*) (v) Atsuen (pop. 67); (*c*) (vi) Pien (pop. 177). Wards (i) to (iv) constitute a single exogamous group; ward (v) is also a single exogamous unit, and so is ward (vi). Wards (i) to (iv) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and marry the daughters of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there is an exception in that the Kuchok ward of Kpak does not steal the wives (or marry the daughters) of the Agwam ward of Fadan Kagoro. They consider themselves related and drink beer together. Vice versa wards (v) and (vi) of Kpak marry the daughters of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and steal the wives of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there were two exceptions to this rule. The Pien ward of Kpak does not steal from the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro, as they consider themselves blood relatives and drink beer together. The Mingyuo ward was said both to steal the wives and marry the daughters of members of the Atsuen ward. I was unable to verify this, but it appeared to be an exceptional case, and it was stated that it was a new-fangled custom. If such a thing happened in the

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582 621 olden days it would have led to fighting between the two groups.

583 It would seem that among the Kagoro it was not the practice to approach a woman's parents before eloping with her. The 587 851 elopement took place first, and the parents were compensated afterwards. It was also stated that in former times if an enceinte woman ran away the secondary husband generally refused to return the child to the father. The town of Agbam consists 582 621 of four wards, viz.: (*a*) (i) Kamwan (pop. 424), (ii) Kutang (pop. 321); (*b*) (iii) Kajung (pop. 300); (*c*) (iv) Mungwop (pop. [162] 150). Wards (i) and (ii) form a single exogamous group. Ward (iii) is an exogamous unit and so is ward (iv). Wards (i) and (ii) steal wives from the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. Wards (iii) and (iv) have the reverse process. There are two exceptions, however. The Kajung ward of Agbam does not steal wives (or marry daughters) of the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro. The Mungwop of Agbam do not steal wives or marry daughters of the Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro. They drink beer together at feasts and consider themselves related. As both bear the same name and have apparently the same animal emblem they may each be a localised group of a former clan. If so they would not, of course, marry each others' daughters; but in so far as kinship is concerned there would be no bar to stealing each others' wives. Among the Katab one section of the clan steals from another of the same clan.

[162] The town of Malogun consists of four wards, viz.: (i) Kuchok (pop. 400), (ii) Machin (pop. 140), (iii) Kwam (pop. 120), (iv) Aku (pop. 300). The first three were said to constitute a single exogamous unit, but I did not verify this. All, however, intermarry with (iv) who belong to the Katab and not the Kagoro tribe. Wards (i) to (iii) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadan wards in Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. But as regards the Aku ward of Malogun there is no fixed rule, as they are not of the Kagoro tribe. Any Fadan Kagoro man may marry a daughter or steal a wife of the Aku ward of Malogun. From the evidence given it will be apparent that the dual system of intermarriage between two towns protects the exogamous group from a breach of the kinship rules (for if you steal a wife from

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KAGORO CHILDREN

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KAGORO WOMAN

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621 the same group as you give your daughters you might be marrying
582 a relative forbidden by the "clan" rule. Moreover, a mother and daughter might be lodged in the same household or family as the respective wives of two brothers or cousins). Secondly, it prevents hostility (which wife-stealing entails) with a group many of whose members are married to your daughters.

583 A few words may be said about the marriage arrangements. Marriage with girls is of the so-called "purchase" type, coupled with some spasmodic agricultural service rendered to the girl's parents or guardians. The purchase amounts to little, taking the form merely of gifts of a hoe, beer, and meat, a return present of cooked beans being given by the girl's family. Later, gifts of beniseed and two chickens are given, cooked beans being again given in return. When the girl is ready for marriage she receives the elaborate body-marks mentioned in the Katab report. The final gifts are one goat and six chickens, after which the girl is taken to the husband's home, a marriage feast being held. It is noteworthy that girls are only given in marriage about the month of October. Marriage by elopement is arranged by the couple themselves, but the abductor nowadays first secures by gifts the good offices of the woman's parents. Formerly it was customary for a man to abduct the wife of a member of another town and subsequently to obtain by gifts the consent of her parents. There is no marriage by exchange among the Kagoro.

[604] A maternal uncle may help his sister's son to procure a wife,
[431] but among the Kagoro the maternal uncle has no great authority. If a boy is successful in hunting he gives the head to the maternal uncle, who in return presents him with a goat or hoe and an arrow to replace the one expended in bringing down the quarry.

[582 602] A man may marry into his mother's ward, but he must avoid immediate blood relatives of his mother. The relationship system is identical with that of the Katab.

825 *Animal Emblems.*—In Fadan Kagoro the people of the Lawat
582 ward appear to associate themselves with a certain species of
621 snake. If this snake passes the door of a Lawat's house it is said to be a portent of death. No Lawat may kill this snake,
[761] but members of the associated wards of Agwam and Kadau may. The Mingyuo are said to respect the bush cat, and the Mungwop the chameleon. If a Mungwap killed a chameleon the heads of his children would, at birth, be covered with sores. The

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825 582 621 Mungwap of Agbam also respect the chameleon, and, as the two groups believe themselves to be related and refrain from intermarriage and wife-stealing, they are apparently localized groups of a single clan. On the other hand the Akumat, who do not intermarry with the Mungwop, on the ground of a common origin, do not appear to respect the chameleon. Both the Pagwar and Kachan, who refrain from intermarriage, respect a harmless species of snake which is allowed to live in the house of the priestly family of Pagwar. It appears, therefore, that on the whole the " totemic " groups do not coincide with the exogamous groups, and that if society was organized formerly on a totemic basis the totemism has broken down.

621 792 224 Each ward has its headman or " father " who is the controller of festivals and chief priest. If any member of the wards has been successful in hunting he brings the quarry to the " father " to cook. After it is cooked the " father " sprinkles some digitaria millet over it, and petitions God (Gwaza) to give the hunter further success. He then distributes it among the members of his own and the hunter's family. The man who provided the hunter with the poison by which the animal was shot is given the skin. Even in the ward of the central chief the ward " father " retains his ancient rights. He is the representative of the oldest generation and may therefore be a comparatively young man.

621 628 621 792 771 In olden days each ward settled its own affairs without reference to any outside authority, for the tribe had no central organization until it came under the influence of the Kachichere Habe of Kajuru—from whom the sword which is the emblem of chieftainship was originally obtained. If a member of one ward killed a member of another, open warfare usually ensued between the two wards. The Mingyuo ward is the priestly ward for Fadan Kagoro. They are the first to plant their crops, and are the leaders in the rites observed in connection with the harvest and the annual hunting battue. The Kagoro, however, like the Katab, do not seem to be strongly imbued with religious ideas, and there is a singular absence of organized religion. There are not, therefore, any elaborate initiation rites such as are found among their neighbours the Jaba.

727 554 The Kagoro were head-hunters. When a warrior obtained a head he put it in his bag and carried it home, where he was received with great rejoicing, the townspeople greeting him

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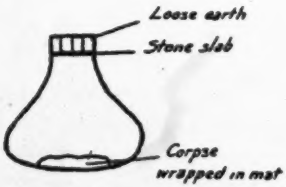
with ululations and the blowing of horns. He handed the head to a relative who put a string through the lips and danced about with it. He himself went straight to the priestly family which had charge of the head-hunting rites. From them he received a protecting draught consisting of some palm and mahogany oil intermixed with a few drops of the blood from the head. He was subjected to numerous taboos. He was not allowed to speak or touch the ground, being carried round on the shoulders of friends in the same way as a successful athlete in England. After the dance the warrior was taken to his house. The head was buried in mud by the priestly family and when it was clean of all flesh was deposited in the skull hut, which was to be found in every Kagoro village. When this was done a feast was held, but at this feast no women or young people were allowed to be present. All congratulated and thanked the warrior, holding up to him the index finger of the right hand, a mode of salutation to which he became entitled for the rest of his life. The Kagoro refrained from taking the heads of their Morwa and Katab neighbours, confining their energies to the Ataka and Kaje tribes. In times of war the Kagoro abstained from drinking beer. Their villages were protected by hedges of cactus which provided good cover for discharging their arrows. The hills and caves in the rear offered a safe retreat if they were driven out of their villages.

The Kagoro grave is of the decanter type, a type which may have had its origin in pot burial.



As stated in the Katab report, the Kagoro tribal marks are similar to those of the Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kaje, Jaba, and Kagoma. The Kagoro call the Katab "Atiap", the Morwa "Asulio", the Kaje "Ajio", the Fulani "Fata", and the Hausa "Akpat". They call themselves the Agwǫlǫk.

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1.	Head	epio	ɛpio
2.	Hair	pio	pio
3.	Eye	eli	ɛli
	Two eyes	lili feang	ɬli feaŋ
4.	Ear	chuchu wo	tʃutʃuwo
	Two ears	chuchu feang	tʃutʃuwo afeaŋ
5.	Nose	zuai	zuai
6.	One tooth	anyung anyung	anjuŋ anjuŋ
	Five teeth	nyunyung atswen	njunnjuŋ atswɛn
7.	Tongue	alyem	aʎɛm
8.	Neck	chuwo	tʃuwo
9.	Breast (woman's)	abeen	abeɛn
10.	Heart	elio	ɛlio
11.	Belly	chu	tʃu
12.	Back	uma	uma
13.	Arm	bwak	bwaːk
14.	Hand	utiaim bwak	utiaim bwaːk
15.	Finger	gasuong	gaʃuɔŋ
	Five fingers	gasuong tsuen	gaʃuɔŋ tsuɛn
16.	Finger nail	gafwo	gafwo
17.	Leg	tak	taːk
18.	Knee	okhwut	oxwut
19.	Foot	ataitak	ataitaːk
	Two feet	titak afeang	titaːk afeaŋ
20.	Man (person)	etubishi	ɛtubɪʃi
	Ten people	etubishi suak	ɛnubɪʃi suaːk
21.	Man (not woman)	atuok	atuɔk
	Two men	atuor afeang	atuɔr afeaŋ
22.	Woman	abiyuk	abijuk
	Two women	anyur afeang	anjur afeaŋ
23.	Child	bangwon	bangwɔn
24.	Father	atio	atio
25.	Mother	ayang	ajaŋ
26.	Slave	okhwo	oxwo
27.	Chief	agwam	agwam
28.	Friend	etuba	ɛtuba
29.	Smith	atsu	atsu
30.	Doctor	abuok	abuɔk
31.	One finger	gasuong zung	gasuɔŋ ʒuŋ
32.	Two fingers	gasuong feang	gasuɔŋ feaŋ
33.	Three fingers	„ tat	gasuɔŋ tat
34.	Four fingers	„ nai	gasuɔŋ nai
35.	Five fingers	„ tsuen	gasuɔŋ tsuɛn
36.	Six fingers	„ uta	gasuɔŋ uta
37.	Seven fingers	„ natat	gasuɔŋ natat
38.	Eight fingers	„ unaim bwak	gasuɔŋ unaim bwaːk
39.	Nine fingers	gasuong kubanyung	gasuɔŋ kubanjuŋ
40.	Ten fingers	gasuong sak	gasuɔŋ saːk

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41.	Eleven fingers	gasuong sak mong kaunyung	gasuɔŋ sa:k mɔŋ kaunjuŋ
42.	Twelve fingers	gasuong sak mong ka ufeang	gasuɔŋ sa:k mɔŋ ka ufeaŋ
43.	Thirteen fingers	gasuong sak mong ka utat	gasuɔŋ sa:k mɔŋ ka utat
44.	Twenty fingers	gasuong sak veang	gasuɔŋ sa:k veaŋ
45.	A hundred fingers	gasuong chi	gasuɔŋ tʃi
46.	Two hundred fingers	„ chi feang	gasuɔŋ tʃi feaŋ
47.	Four hundred fingers	„ chi nai	gasuɔŋ tʃi nai
48.	Sun	nuam	nuam
	God	Gwaza	Gwaza
49.	Moon	juat	dʒuat
	Full moon	jijian juat	dʒidʒian dʒuat
	New moon	juat shae	dʒuat ʃae
50.	Day	ta nuam	ta nuam
	Night	otuk	otuk
	Morning	chochon	tʃotʃɔn
51.	Rain	za	za
52.	Water	sokhwot	soxwɔt
53.	Blood	afok	aʃɔk
54.	Fat	kitse	kɪtse
55.	Salt	tuwak	tuwa:k
56.	Stone	afang	afaŋ
	Iron	chuam	tʃuam
57.	Hill	chuok	tʃuɔk
58.	River	chien	tʃiɛn
59.	Road	luak	luak
60.	House	inyuo	ɪnjuo
	Two houses	kanyo	kanjo feaŋ
	Many houses	kanyo nushi	kanjo nuʃi
	All the houses	kanyo ogbom	kanjo ogbɔm
61.	Roof	atak	atak
62.	Door	unung kanyo	unuŋ kanjo
63.	Mat	apang	apaŋ
64.	Basket	wut sherrang	wutʃɛrraŋ
65.	Drum	bin	bin
66.	Pot	alan	alan
67.	Knife	ubai	ubai
68.	Spear	joang	dʒoaŋ
69.	Bow	uta	uta
70.	Arrow	fiet	fiɛt
	Five arrows	„ insuon	fiɛt ɪnsuon
71.	Gun	aliram dong	aliram doŋ
72.	War	joang	dʒoaŋ
73.	Meat (animal)	nam	nam
74.	Elephant	giwa	giwa
75.	Buffalo	zat	zat
76.	Leopard	tyo	tjɔ

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77.	Monkey	ukho	uxo
78.	Pig	jin	dʒɪn
79.	Goat	juen	dʒuɛn
80.	Dog	ubu	ubu
81.	Bird	unuan	unuan
	Feather	chat	tʃat
82.	Parrot	aku	aku
83.	Fowl	yuan	yuan
84.	Eggs	achi	atʃi
85.	One egg	achi enyung	atʃi ɛnjuŋ
86.	Snake	jwak	dʒwak
87.	Frog	naman	naman
88.	Spider	tanarang	tanaraŋ
89.	Fly	chunchun	tʃuntʃun
90.	Bee	shwai	ʃwəi
	Honey	tong	tɔŋ
91.	Tree	ukwon	ukwɔn
	Ten trees	ukwon sak	ukwɔn sa:k
92.	Leaf	khyu khyuo	xjuxjuo
93.	Banana	ayaba	ajaba
94.	Maize	solak akpat	solak akpat
95.	Ground nut	su	su (u with lip rounding)
96.	Oil	khiau	xiau
97.	The tall woman	ebiyuk ebitak	ɛbijuk ɛbɪtak
	The tall women	anyuk titak	anjuk tɪta:k
98.	Large dog	bundang ubu	bundaŋ ubu
99.	Small dog	angwon ubu	aŋgwɔn ubu

Additional Notes

193 Some plurals are formed by alteration in tone, e.g. :—

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āgwām	= chief.
ágwam	= chiefs.
ūkw̄ɔn	= tree.
úkw̄ɔn	= trees.
dʒūɛ̄n	= goat.
dʒūɛ́n	= goats.
tsāī	= horse.
tsáī	= horses.

193 Others by prefix change, e.g. :—

abijuk	= woman.
anjuk	= women.

Others by suffix change, e.g. :—

yuan	= chicken.
yuanʒo	= chickens.

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The Kaje

The Kaje, who call themselves the Baju, are situated to the south-west of the Katab, and are split in two by the Zaria Plateau provincial boundary, half the tribe being under the Emir of Zaria and the other half under the Emir of Jemaa. The tribe was originally wholly administered by Zaria, being directly responsible to the Galadima of that city, and the present unfortunate bisection dates back to that period of last century when the establishment of the Fulani at Jemaa led to a reshuffling of the districts.

The Kaje consist of six localized groups, as follows:

(1) The Baiduang, inhabiting the villages of Zonkwa, Zuturu, Kurmin Bi, and Madauchi (Zaria Province).
(2) The Baintso, inhabiting the villages of Fadan Kaje, Tsofon Gidda, Fadia, Rimfa, Kafō, Zagwom (Zaria Province).
(3) The Baimbin, inhabiting the villages of Aduang, Suriang, Wadong, Kan-Kadong (Plateau Province).
(4) The Bainturung, inhabiting the villages of Duwhan, Vontong, Abet, Kanyem, Abong (Plateau Province).
(5) The Batadon, inhabiting the villages of Madakia, Azufwo, Kukwan, Furjam, Giddan Atang, Vumpang, Pong, Sosun, Kumantso, Dichodon, Zat, Zankiruwa (Plateau Province).
(6) The Banewhan, inhabiting the villages of Katsuk, Zubong, Marsa, Afana, Zamberkpat, Bakin Kogi, Rakawan, Chenchuk, Kurdan, Ataiechap, Kamerun, Rikeakwon, Zauru (Plateau Province).

These six divisions may be described as village confederacies, for they are not "clans" in the accepted sense of being exogamous units. Certain informants of the Baiduang group stated that in former times no Baiduang man could marry a Baiduang woman, and a villager of Fadia informed me that he had been told by his father that formerly it was not permissible for any Faida man to marry any woman of the Baintso group. If this information is correct it would appear that the Kaje formerly had an exogamous clan organization which has only broken down in recent times. It has given place to a modified form of exogamy, based on the kinship, real or fictitious, of the local group inhabiting a single village-area. I was unable to obtain any clear evidence that village confederacies had also been totemic. It was stated that the Baiduang respected the leopard, but there was no evidence that the leopard was a totem, though one informant

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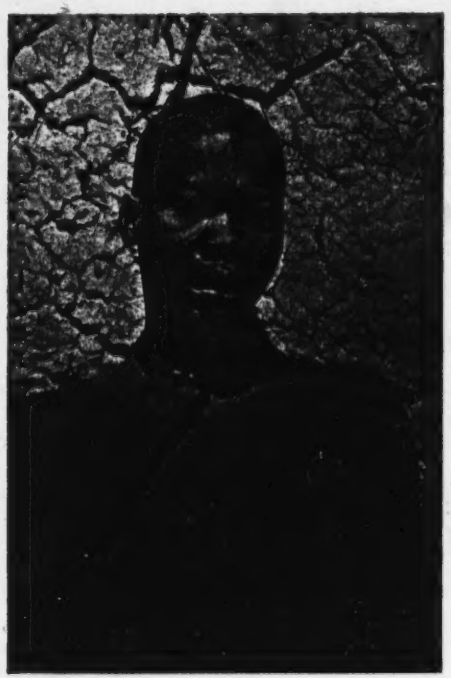
PLATE 12



KAJE YOUTHS

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621 825 stated that leopards embodied the souls of Baiduang ancestors. Another informant stated that the *tatong* was taboo to all Baiduang and if one was caught it was taken to the Shokwa priest of the Katab tribe, an indication, perhaps, that some sections of the Kaje and some of the Katab at one time formed a single social unit.

Several of the Baintso stated that the crocodile was formerly respected by all members of the Baintso village confederacy; anyone who ate crocodile's flesh would break out into sores and die; and the use of crocodile's skin was taboo. They added, however, that the respect for the crocodile had waned. The Kaje sing numerous songs in honour of the crested crane, but this bird did not appear to be the emblem of any particular social group. It is possible that the Kaje village confederacies were totemic as well as exogamous, but if so it is clear that the clan totemism, like the clan exogamy, has now broken down.

621 582 There is one interesting and important feature about the village confederacy organization just described which would suggest that this organization may never have had anything to do with exogamy, but came into existence purely as a wife-stealing confederation. I refer to the rule that among the Kaje a member of a village confederacy may not elope with the wife of another member of the same village confederacy, e.g. a Baiduang may not elope with the wife of a Baiduang. This rule may be due to the circumstance that as the local village groups of a confederacy intermarry into each other, wife-stealing within the confederacy would lead to incestuous unions. But it is possible to look at the matter from another angle and to trace from two wife-stealing confederacies the origin of a single exogamous clan. To take an example:—

A is a wife-stealing confederacy and the members of A steal the wives of the members of B, another wife-stealing confederacy. In time B, being the weaker, suggests to A that instead of stealing each other's wives they should marry each other's daughters. Men of A would cease to marry girls of A, as those girls would have to be given to B. And thus A and B which were formerly wife-stealing confederacies would become exogamous clans. It may be objected that this is pure assumption. But as instances were found among the Kagoro of two villages agreeing to give up the practice of eloping with each other's wives and to marry

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instead each other's daughters; and as, among the Katab, the Minyam and Agbat clans at the present day object to the custom of the Aku and Shokwa clans both stealing their wives and marrying their daughters, and assert that they should do one or the other, it will be seen that there is evidence for this theory of the origin of clan exogamy.

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Thus the Baiduang, Baintso, Beimbin, Bainturu, Batadon, and Banewhan might be regarded as clans (i.e. exogamous clans) in the making. Whether this is so, or whether these large groups represent clans which have now lost their exogamy, the social unit at the present time is the village-area group. This group consists of one or more kindreds who believe themselves to be descended patrilineally from a common ancestor. As the common descent can seldom be proved genealogically,[1] it is apparent that the village groups, being exogamous, constitute in reality small clans. If, therefore, a section of one village settles in another area, the rule forbidding intermarriage is maintained. And thus, though normally the members of one village may intermarry with the members of any other village, there are exceptions based on kinship considerations. The people of Fadia (a Baintso village) will not, for example, intermarry with the people of Tsofon Gidda (also a Baintso village) on the ground of a supposed consanguinity. The rule of local exogamy does not, of course, prevent a man from marrying the daughter of a recent immigrant into his village. Such marriages are permissible for three or four generations, but it would appear that usually after four generations the descendants of immigrants become absorbed in the village-area group and are therefore obliged to seek consorts from other villages. In some cases, however, the immigrant family is not absorbed, especially if it is distinguished by holding some hereditary civil or religious office. The family of the Chief of Kurmin Bi for example, intermarries with that of the Magajin Obwai on the ground that the latter belonged originally to the village-area of Zuturu.

That the local village-area group constitutes in reality a patrilineal clan is shown by the rule that a man is not debarred from marrying into his mother's village provided he avoids marriage with the immediate relatives of his mother, i.e. with Maternal first, second, or third cousins,

[1] The founders of the alleged related kindreds are generally supposed to have been half brothers by the same father.

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PLATE 13

A KAJE MOTHER AND DAUGHTER

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maternal first, second, or third cousins. It would appear that there is a tendency for the village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal. The people of Kurmin Bi bury their dead in the skin of a leopard on the ground that the leopard is their relative and that they become leopards at death. It was said that the people of Zonkwa for the same reason bury their dead in the skin of a red monkey, and those of Madauchi in the skin of a cat. The people of Fadia were said to wrap their dead first in a leopard's skin and then in that of a red monkey, possibly because they are of mixed origin. Unfortunately time did not allow me to follow up this line of inquiry.

Wife-abduction is not permitted between members of the same confederacy, i.e. a Baiduang may not steal the wife of a Baiduang. But normally a member of one confederacy may elope with the wife of a member of any other confederacy, e.g. a Bainturu may elope with the wife of a Banewhan. There are exceptions, however, to this rule, for two towns belonging to different confederacies may, if they are situated close to each other, agree together not to elope with each other's wives. Thus the men of Kurmin Bi (Baiduang) refrain from abducting the wives of men of Fadan Kaje (Baintso) and vice versa, on the ground that these two villages are situated close to each other. Similarly the men of Fadia (Baintso) refrain from eloping with the wives of the men of Zonkwa (Baiduang). A Zonkwa man also avoids eloping with the wives of men of Tsofon Gidda (Baintso) and vice versa. We can see here a process going on which might quite conceivably result in the Baiduang and Baintso becoming two intermarrying exogamous clans.

The Kaje relationship terminology is practically the same as that of the Katab except for the dialectical differences, which are as follows:—

Katab.	*Kaje.*
Atio	Ati (possessive atienzuk)
Ayang	Na
Ngwan	Kawon
Nanyuk	Awum
Atiowhop	Atiokwop
Ayangowhop	Nakwop
Kambwon	Kambwon
Aniat	Anian

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Katab.	*Kaje.*
Aniang	Akumbwon
Okwang	Okwon
Yekwop	Atukwon
Ojam	Odzam
Ashin	Afin
Aviyuk	Afi
Angat	Ati (= father)
Neowhop	Neokwon
Nungvan	Arandnan

It will be seen that the principal difference lies in the special term Akumbwon used by the Kaje for a son's wife. The informants were unable to explain the meaning of this term, but stated that it had no connection with the word *kambwon*, signifying grandchild.

The inheritance and marriage of the paternal grandparent's widows is, as among the Katab, permissible, and it was also stated that the inheritance of a maternal grandparent's widow was also permissible in the case of a lad who had taken up his residence with his maternal grandfather. Inheritance of a father's or father's brother's widows is common (as also among the Katab). There is no special term for cross-cousin (as there is among the Kurama) and a Kaje appears to be playmates with his ortho-cousins equally with his cross-cousins. As among the Katab, so also among the Kaje, the second child born to a married couple has to be ransomed from the wife's parents.

KAJE

1. Head	dechu	dutʃu
2. Hair	bonkwon	bonkwɔn
3. Eye	disi	disɪ
Two eyes	asu ahwa	asuahwa
4. Ear	tuwo	tuwo
Two ears	atwo ahwa	atwo ahwa
5. Nose	zuai	zuai
6. One tooth	dingi tirung	dɪŋɪ tirʊŋ
Five teeth	anyi atfwon	anji atfwɔn
7. Tongue	diriam	dɪrɪam
8. Neck	tuwa	tuwa
9. Breast (woman's)	dibiam	dɪbɪam

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KAJE PRIEST

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10. Heart	ria	ria
11. Belly	tsu	tsu
12. Back	kazama	kazama
13. Arm	bwak	bwa:k
14. Hand	kataim bwak	kataɪm bwak
Two hands	imvwar imhwa	ɪmvwar ɪmhwa
15. Finger	katahunu	katahunu
Five fingers	natahundafwon	natahundafwɔn
16. Finger nail	zuô	zuɔ̃
17. Leg	tak	ta:k
18. Knee	duk kut	duk kut
19. Foot	diniabiin	dɪniabɪm
20. Man (person)	aneyu	anɛju
Ten people	banyet suak	banjet suak
21. Man (not woman)	arentiok	arɛntɪɔk
Two men	bantiok bohwa	bantɪɔk bohwa
22. Woman	arembirum	arɛmbirum
Two women	bashibohwa	baʃibohwa
23. Child	kabawan	kabawan
24. Father	atsi	atsi
25. Mother	na	na
26. Slave	akwa	akwa
27. Chief	agwam	agwam
28. Friend	atiba	atɪba
29. Smith	atfu	atfu
30. Doctor	abok	abok
31. One finger	katahunu kayirang	katahunu kajiraŋ
32. Two fingers	,, da hwa	katahunu da hwa
33. Three fingers	,, ,, tat	katahunu da tat
34. Four fingers	,, ,, nai	katahunu da nai
35. Five fingers	katahunu dat fuon	katahunu dat fuɔn
36. Six fingers	katahunu kitat	katahunu kɪtat
37. Seven fingers	katahunu tirung	katahunu tiruŋ
38. Eight fingers	,, ninai	katahunu nɪnai
39. Nine fingers	katahunu kumbirung	katahunu kumbwiruŋ
40. Ten fingers	,, suak	katahunu suak
41. Eleven fingers	katahunu suak buka yirang	katahunu suak buka jiraŋ
42. Twelve fingers	katahunu suak bu dahwa	katahunu suak bu dahwa
Thirteen fingers	katahunu suak bu datat	katahunu suak bu datat
43. Twenty fingers fingers	katahunu suak nhwa	katahunu suak nhwa
44. A hundred fingers	katahunu chi	katahunu tʃi
45. Two hundred fingers	,, ,, sua	katahunu tʃi sua
46. Four hundred	katahunu chi nyai	katahunu tʃi ɲjai
47. Sun	nom	nɔm
God	kadza	Kadza

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48.	Moon	fuan	Fuan (bilabial f)
	Full moon	asai fuan	asai Fuan
	New moon	fuan hwai	Fuan hwai
49.	Day	tanom	tanɔm
	Night	katuk	katuk
	Morning	katontson	katɔntsɔn
50.	Rain	za	za
51.	Water	bashakwot	baʃakwɔt
52.	Blood	basok	basɔk
53.	Fat	kiche	kɪtʃe
54.	Salt	intuak	ɪntuaːk
55.	Stone	pang	paŋ
	Iron	tsoam	tsoam
56.	Hill	agut	agut
57.	River	anyurungchen	anjuruŋtʃɛn
	Stream	inchen	ɪntʃɛn
58.	Road	rien	riɛn
59.	House	bat	baːt
	Two houses	barahwa	barahwa
	Many houses	barashigotswa	baraʃigɔtswa
	All the houses	barareabat	barareabaːt
60.	Roof	disu	dɪsu
61.	Door	kanungjio	kanuŋdʒiɔ̃
62.	Mat	chichak	tʃitʃak
63.	Basket	kanshang	kanʃaŋ
64.	Drum	biin	biɪn
65.	Pot	ruin	ruɪn
66.	Knife	kakurom	kakurɔm
67.	Spear	dukpan	dukpan
68.	Bow	kata	kata
69.	Arrow	ihwit	ɪhwɪt
	Five arrows	ihwin tuon	ɪhwɪn tuɔn
70.	Gun	arimdong	arɪmdɔŋ
71.	War	zoð	ʒoð
72.	Meat (animal)	dinam	dɪnam
73.	Elephant	zoom	zoom
74.	Buffalo	zat	zaːt
75.	Leopard	chiuk	tʃiuk
76.	Monkey	kaka	kaʔkaʔ
77.	Pig	zeak	zeːak
78.	Goat	bwon	bwɔn
79.	Dog	kabu	kabu
80.	Bird	kanon	kanɔn
	Feather	chat kanon	tʃat kanɔn
82.	Fowl	ninon	niuɔn
84.	One egg	lichi tirung	lɪtʃi tiruŋ
85.	Snake	shuen	ʃuɛn
86.	Frog	amvwat	amvwat
87.	Spider	tanirang	tanɪraŋ

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88.	Fly	chinchung	tʃɪntʃuŋ
89.	Bee	litong	lɪtɔŋ
	Honey	bashakwot ditong	baʃakwɔt dɪtɔŋ
90.	Tree	inkwon	ɪnkwɔn
	Ten trees	suak dokwon (*or* dikwon suak)	suak dɔkwɔn (*or* dɪkwɔn suak)
91.	Leaf	apipi	apɪpi
92.	Banana	ayaba	ajaba
93.	Maize	yakpat	jakpat
94.	Ground nut	shu	ʃu
95.	Oil	difiu shu	dɪfiu ʃu
96.	The tall woman	arembirum ashi	arɛmbɪrum aʃi
	The tall women	banyurung	banjuruŋ
97.	Large dog	abwadang kabu	abwadaŋ kabu
98.	Small dog	chichong kabu	tʃɪtʃɔŋ kabu
99.	The dog bites	kabu karuwai	kabu karuwəi
100.	The dog bites me	kabu kanduwe	kabu kanduwe
101.	The dog which bit me yesterday	kabu kani a kum vwo viyo	kabu kani a kum vwo vijo
102.	I flog the dog	in zu kabu ka	ɪn zu kabu ka
103.	The dog which I have flogged	kabu ka ukudzune	kabu ka ukudzune
104.	I see him	in kurii	ɪn kurii
	I see her	in kurii	ɪn kurii
	He sees you	anarie	anarie
	He sees us	azarie	azarie
	We see you (pl.)	ziarii	ziarii
	We see them	azari	azari
105.	Beautiful bird	kanon ayakasham	kanɔn ajakaʃam
106.	Slave	akwa	akwa
	My slave	akwanzuk	akwànzuk
	Thy slave	akwanmwan	akwanmwan
	Our slaves	akwandzhit	akwandʒɪt
107.	The chief's slave	akwa gwam	akwagwam
	His slave	akwano	akwano
108.	We see the slave	ziri okwa	zɪri ɔkwa
109.	We call the slave	zi e ekwa	zi e ɛkwa
110.	The slave comes	okwa chobai	ɔkwa tʃobai
111.	He came yesterday	kuba riu	kuba riu
	He is coming today	abai kotfun	abai kɔtfun
	He will come tomorrow	abai kantson	abai kantsɔn
112.	The slaves go away	bakwa ba kanat	bakwa ba kanat
113.	Who is your chief?	nya yera gwam mwan?	nja jɛra gwam mwan?

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114.	The two villages are making war on each other	dankaran dahwa ba kwan bamba	dankaran dahwa ba kwan bamba
115.	The sun rises	nom ta pok	nɔm ta pɔk
	The sun sets	nom pa	nɔm pa
116.	The man is eating	aneyiu aya kiang	anejiu aja kiaŋ
117.	The man is drinking	aneyiu sua ba shakwot	anejiu sua ba ʃakwɔt
118.	The man is asleep	aneyiu kainda	anejiu kainda
119.	I break the stick	inbut shanji	ɪnbut ʃandʒi
	The stick is broken	shanji but	ʃandʒi but
	This stick cannot be broken	shainuni but ba	ʃanmuni vut ba
	Break this stick for me	shaniane im bude	ʃaniane ɪm bude
120.	I have built a house	in kunok bat	ɪn kunɔk ba:t
121.	My people have built their houses yonder	kianvak zuk banok bat kaya ne	kianvak zuk banɔk ba:t kaja ne
122.	What do you do every day?	zaiya kwon zin nom?	zaija kwɔn zɪn nɔm?
	I work on my farm	inyip fon a kabyenzuk	ɪnjip fɔn a kabjenzuk
123.	I am going away	inzuk nat	ɪnzuk nat
	I am hoeing	in kap	ɪn kap
	I am going away to hoe	nat keak	nat keak
	I am going to my farm	nāt kabíjenzuk	nāt kabídʒnzuk
124.	The woman comes	arembirum cho bai	arɛmbirum tʃo bai
	She comes	abai	abai
	The woman laughs	arembirum amai	arɛmbirum amai
	The woman weeps	„ akum	arɛmbirum akum
125.	I ask the woman	in kudzim ambirimu	ɪn kudzɪm ambirimu
126.	Why do you laugh?	in zamai	ɪn zamai
127.	Why do you cry?	in zanakun	ɪn zanakun
128.	My child is dead	kawonzuk in kaku	kawɔnzuk ɪn kaku
129.	It is not dead	kaku ba	kaku ba
130.	Are you ill?	ashí bí lafiya ba?	aʃí bɪ lafija ba?
131.	My children are ill	dawonzuk yasha ba	dawɔnzuk jaʃa ba
132.	Her child is better	kawonu echirang	kawɔnu etʃiraŋ
133.	Yes	e	ɛ
	No	kaí	kaí
134.	A fine knife	karkoro bisham	karkɔrɔ biʃam

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	Give me the knife	bare kakorô	bare kakɔrɔ̃
	I give you the knife	ne ri kakorô	nɛ ri kakorɔ̃
135.	You are a European	mwan bature	mwan bature
	I am a black man	inzuk dindin neviu	inzuk dindɪn neviu
	You are a Kaje	mwan anta Baju	mwan antə Badʒu
136.	Name	diyurok	dijurɔk
	My name is Amadu	dirongzuk Amadu	dirɔŋzuk Amadu
	Your name	dirong mwan	dirɔŋ mwan
	What is your name?	diyurok mwan hwa?	dijurɔk mwan hwa?
137.	There is water in the gourd	bashakwot shi kashiom	baʃakwɔt ʃi kaʃiɔm
	The knife is on the stone	kakuro shin tsoadza pā	kakurɔ̃ ʃin tsoadza pā
	The fire is under the pot	ro shi katak ron	rɔ̃ ʃi katak rɔn
	The roof is over the hut	dusu di tsoadza bat	dusu di tsoadza ba:t
138.	You are good	mwan bi sham	mwan bi ʃam
	This man is bad	anyinani bi bieyin	ajɪnani bi biejin
139.	The paper is white	takada asai	takada asai
	This thing is black	kiangani ku ye dindiun	kiangani ku je dɪndiun
	This thing is red	kiā ani kye ashô	kiā ani kje aʃô
140.	This stone is heavy	pangjini sa piup	paŋdʒɪni sa piup
	This stone is not heavy	pangjini sa piup ba	paŋdʒɪni sa piu ba
141.	I write	a rubutanya	a rubutunja
	I give you the letter	na ri takada	na ri takada
	Carry the letter to the town there	nat takada kankara yani	nat takada kankara ʃani
142.	Go away		na:t
	Come here	bachi	batʃi
143.	Where is your house?	kariwan ka shike?	kariwan ka ʃike?
144.	My house is here	kariinzuk kanka ne	kariɪnzuk kanka ne
	My house is there	kariinzuk kaya ne	kariɪnzuk kaja ne
145.	What have you to sell?	in zan yid zap	in zan jɪd zap
146.	I want to buy fish	in chat san hwunji	in tʃat san hwundʒi
147.	The fish which you bought yesterday is bad	hwon jia sani bi shamba	hwon dʒia sani bi ʃamba
148.	Where is the man who killed the elephant?	nyana ku bwa zomji?	njana ku bwa zɔndʒi?

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	He has killed many elephants	a bwaid zom bwadam	a bwaid zɔm bwadam
	How many elephants were killed yesterday?	zom zuji baku bwai rio?	zɔm zudʒi baku bwai rio?
149.	Untie it	ku biyuk	ku bijuk
	Tie this rope	rop rigiane	rɔp rigiane
	Make the boy untie the goat	si kabawon ka sibiyuk bwon	si kabawon ka sibijuk bwon
150.	My brothers and I, we are going, but no one else	inzuk bi kianvwarinzuk zinat, inji badiim	mzuk bi kianvwarinzuk zɪnat, indʒi badɪɪm
	Brothers let us go and tell the chief	liok nat sitar agwam	liɔk nat sɪtar agwam
151.	This tree is bigger than that	kakwon kane nat kaya	kakwon kane nat kaja

Last night I was in my house with a white man; we heard a movement outside; he said, "you hear that; they are thieves; let us go and see." We went and I said, "Who are you?" and they answered, "nothing"; but I said, "you are thieves"; so we called the Police and put them in prison.

Lio tatuk in she kaliinzuk tare baturee; zu hwo ayin nara tasa; nu efuya "yihwok ba yemi; batang a mi; liok zu wuro iriyi." Zu wuruk inzuk uhungya "yin banzan"? Se bashim "kiš i shiva." Ama in zuk inhunga nyin batang a mi." Disi yei dogari disi bapion bachi kari da sarka.

lio tatuk ɪn ʃe kaliinzuk tare baturee; zu hwo ajɪn nara tasa; nû efuja "jihwɔk ba jemi"; bataŋ a mi; liɔk zu wuro ɪrîji." zu wuruk ɪnzuk uhunja. "jɪn banzan se baʃim kiš i ʃiva." ama ɪn zuk ɪnhuŋa ŋjin bataŋ a mi." dɪsi jei dogari dɪsi bapicn batʃi kari da sarka.

The Morwa

The Morwa or Moroa are a tribe of some 5,900 people situated in the Plateau Province, to the South of their neighbours the Katab. A small section of 362 are located in the Chawai district of Zaria Province. They call themselves the Asolio and are known to most of their neighbours as such. How they came to be called the Morwa is not known. Morwa is a common word among the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa, and means "son", the plural being *Barwa* (see Brown's *Among the Bantu Nomads*, p. 24). Among the Bechuana the term Barwa is used to describe a kindred as opposed to an alien people.

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101 Where the plural prefix *Ma* is used, it is applied to people of alien origin and inferior birth. The Morwa do not themselves use these typically Bantu prefixes, but many Nigerian tribes in speaking of themselves use the Bantu plural prefix *Ba*. The Kaje, for example, who are neighbours of the Morwa, call themselves [197] the Ba-ju, the Ikulu the Bakulu, and so on. The Morwa speak the same language as the Katab.

648 The Morwa are an independent tribe, though they were apparently subject in ancient days to the Habe kings of Zaria and certainly during the last century to the Beri-Beri and Fulani [174] dynasties of Zaria. The tribe seems at one time to have been located slightly further to the north (at Yelwa) and to have been [134] driven south by Zaria slave-raiders. The plain they now occupy is very fertile, and is flanked by the Kagoro hills which offered a safe retreat in time of war.

173 The ruling family resides at Manchok, and the present chief states that his family came originally from Kabanchan, a Kagoro 612 town in the Madaiki's district of Jemaa. The earliest settlers were the kindred known as the Ye-Lutsi who migrated to Manchok from Tankurang (Yelwa) across the Zaria-Plateau provincial boundary sometime last century. In this kindred is vested the priestly functions, and we have thus at Manchok the bisection so commonly found, into (*a*) the earliest settlers and custodians of the religious rites, (*b*) the ruling family, a later arrival.

361 The district consists of a number of village-areas of which the principal are Manchok (with Kisagwai), Beniki, Bandong, 103 Chori, Agbwat (Babban Gidda), Matok, Gora, Bungen, Zankan, Mahuta, and Chonbano. All these are inhabited almost entirely 582 by Asolio. Included in the district also are a number of villages inhabited by members of the neighbouring Ataka tribe. There is also a village called Nandiyam which consists of both Asolio and of Katab. There is free intermarriage between the Asolio and the sections which belong to other tribes, the marriages taking the form either of marriages with girls or of elopement with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permissible among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

612 The social organization is, as among the Kagoro and Katab, 614 of a dual character, i.e. there is the kinship grouping and there 582

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is the grouping for purposes of wife-stealing. The kinship group consists in its simplest form of a kindred, i.e. of a number of families living in close proximity who are related to each other patrilineally. In its more complex form it consists of a clan, and is composed of a number of kindreds not always occupying the same territory who believe themselves to be related, but whose relationship is incapable of proof by means of pedigrees. The clan is exogamous, and *a fortiori* so is the kindred. Individuals are also debarred from marrying any close relative of their mother. The wife-stealing group coincides in one instance with a single clan, but in the two remaining instances is composed of two separate clans. The organization may be shown as follows, but owing to the short time spent among the Morwa (two days only) I was unable to test by genealogies the accuracy of the information given.

Wife-stealing Unit.	*Clan.*	*Territorial Units.*
Ye-Lutsi	Ye-Lutsi	Bangen and sections of the villages of Kisagwai, Chonbano, Chori, Mahuta, and Manchok.
Ne-Sa	Manchok (?)	Manchok, Kajun, and sections of the villages of Zankan and Nandiyan.
	Kajim	
Ne-Zam	Ekwopang	Bandong.
	Ekutai (?)	Beniki and sections of Zankan, Kisagwai, Mahuta, and Kaura.

Now firstly, as regards marriages with girls, no one may marry the daughter of a member of his own clan, and no one may marry the daughter of a member of another clan from whom wives are stolen. Secondly, the members of one clan of a wife-stealing unit do not steal the wives of members of the other clan of the same wife-stealing unit, nor do they steal the wives of members of their own clan. Thirdly, if one clan of a wife-stealing unit A marries the daughters of a clan of another wife-stealing unit B, the other clan of A steals the wives of B and vice versa. There is also a proviso that no one may steal the wife of a member of his own village-area. The village of Beniki does not seem to fall in with the general arrangement, and it thus incurs the censure of the other communities, in the

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582 614 same way that the Aku and Shokwa sections of the Katab tribe are blamed by the other sections of the Katab for not conforming to the general practice. It will be seen that the system among the Morwa corresponds more or less to that of the Kagoro. It differs from that of the Katab in that among the Katab the wife-stealing grouping is usually smaller than the clan grouping, whereas among the Morwa the wife-stealing grouping is usually larger than the clan grouping.

583 586 The wife-stealing customs of the Morwa do not seem to have been interfered with by the Administration. A form of bride-price is paid by the abductor to the father of the woman with whom he elopes. The Morwa do not want any change made in their custom, such as the formal dissolution of the primary marriage by a refund of the bride-price. A husband who loses his wife by elopement hopes that she will one day return to him. The practice, they say, is suitable for both husbands and wives. It gives each the opportunity of finding the partner who suits him or her best. A Morwa seldom demands the return of his bride-price. He might ask for the return of the bride-price paid for a woman who proved unsatisfactory within a year of marriage, but even in these circumstances the bride-price would be lessened by a sum reckoned as compensation for the house-work performed, an interesting sidelight on the Morwa conception of marriage. Children belong to the actual father.

583 587 428 Girls are given in marriage twice a year, when the first rains come and at the ripening of the millet, a fertility custom. A form of capture is practised with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives. During the capture female relatives make a show of beating off the captors. Both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and sons may inherit their fathers' widows. This latter practice appears, however, to be dying out. Nor do the Morwa any longer inherit the widows of grandparents.

604 [H311] 604 517 As regards authority in the mother's family the Morwa have similar customs to the Kagoro. Boys are careful to avoid incurring the displeasure of a maternal uncle, whose curse would be regarded with the greatest fear. Husbands are accustomed to giving a formal present of a *kantu* of salt to the wife's parents when she bears a second child. This is analogous to the redemptive fee payable among neighbouring tribes. It is customary among the Morwa, as among their neighbours, for a man to hand over

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one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

Religion.—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.

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793 [776] any sacred place wearing a gown. The Morwa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab.

793 622 778 The priest plays a prominent part at the installation of the chief. He gives the chief a special draught to drink, and then ceremonially shaves and washes him, afterwards clothing him in a gown. The Morwa chief is, like his neighbours, the possessor of a sacred sword, the magical emblem. At the installation of a new chief the priest fetches the sword from the house of the late chief. It is carefully wrapped up and none may look on it except the priest and chief. The priest slays a goat and [782] chicken (provided by the chief) and rubs the blood (mingled with water) on the sword, saying: "Sword I have brought you here that you may bless us. Let the chief and this town have prosperity and may no evil come, even to a child. For I perform the rites my father performed. Let not the chief die early, and may no sickness overtake him or his wives or his children." On each Friday for the first month or so of his reign, and at intervals throughout each year, the chief summons the priest to bring the sword. They drink some beer together, and then the priest removes some of the wrappings and shows a part of the knife to the chief, saying "Do you see the sword?" The chief replies, "I do and I rejoice." The priest then says, "Sword, let no evil come on the chief or his people or on any of our domestic animals. For I am of the ancient stock of this country, and these are the rites my forefathers performed."

622 778 A year after the installation the concluding rites are performed with feasting and sacrifice. The sword again plays a principal part, and the chief is then for the first time clothed in a black gown. Formerly he could only wear a white gown. The sword is a great asset to the chief; for, apart from the security which it confers on the owner, it is also a source of income. The possessors of minor titles believe that an occasional view of the sacred weapon will secure them also in their offices. They are permitted therefore to view the sword on payment of what must be, to them, a considerable sum.

727 The Morwa were head-hunters like their neighbours, and their rites were similar to those described in the Katab report. They did not take the heads of Katabs whom they killed, but they took their bodies home and buried them, and danced over the grave.

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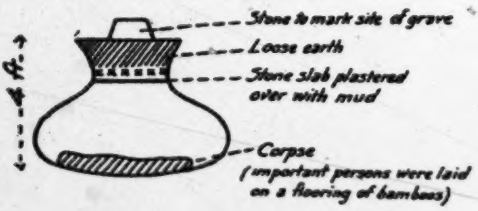
The Morwa grave is of the decanter type, as follows:— 764



The Morwa call the Kaje the Azho, the Kagoro the Aguro, 101
and the Hausa the Akpat.

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1.	Head	apio	apio
2.	Hair	pio	pio
3.	Eye	eli	ɛli
	Two eyes	lili fian	lili fian
4.	Ear	fufwo	fufwo
	Two ears	fufwo feang	fufwo feaŋ
5.	Nose	zuai	zuai
6.	One tooth	anyung anyung	anjuŋ anjuŋ
	Five teeth	inyung afuon	injuŋ afuon
7.	Tongue	alyam	aʎam
8.	Neck	fuwo	fuwo
9.	Breast (woman's)	abiin	abiin
10.	Heart	alio	alio
11.	Belly	su	su (u with lip rounding)
12.	Back	zame	zame
13.	Arm	bwak	bwa:k
14.	Hand	ataim bwak	ataim bwa:k
	Two hands	bwar infeang	bwar ɪnfeaŋ
15.	Finger	gashuong	gaʃuɔŋ
16.	Finger nail	gafwo	gafwo
17.	Leg	tak	ta:k
18.	Knee	okhwut	oxwut
19.	Foot	taitok	taita:k
	Two feet	titarafeang	tɪtarafeaŋ
20.	Man (person)	atubishi	atubɪʃi
	Ten people	atyora feang	atjora feaŋ
21.	Man (not woman)	ayin	ajɪn
	Two men	anyi sak	anji sa:k
22.	Woman	abiyuk	abijuk
	Two women	anyur afeang	anjur afeaŋ
23.	Child	ungwon	uŋgwɔn
24.	Father	atio	atio

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25.	Mother	ayang	ajaŋ
26.	Slave	okhwo	oxwo
27.	Chief	agwam	agwam
28.	Friend	apandang	apandaŋ
29.	Smith	afu	afu
30.	Doctor	abok	abɔk
31.	One finger	gashuong zhô	gaʃuɔŋ ʒɔ̂
32.	Two fingers	gashuong veang	gaʃuɔŋ veaŋ
33.	Three fingers	gashuong sat	gaʃuɔŋ sat
34.	Four fingers	gashuong nyai	gaʃuɔŋ njai
35.	Five fingers	gashuong suon	gaʃuɔŋ suɔn
36.	Six fingers	gashuong atei	gaʃuɔŋ atei
37.	Seven fingers	gashuong natat	gaʃuɔŋ natat
38.	Eight fingers	gashuong rinnai	gaʃuɔŋ rinnai
39.	Nine fingers	gashuong okubunyung	gaʃuɔŋ ɔkubunjuŋ
40.	Ten fingers	gashuong suak	gaʃuɔŋ suak
41.	Eleven fingers	gashuong suak bugashuong zhû	gaʃuɔŋ suak bugaʃuɔŋ ʒû
42.	Twelve fingers	gashuong suak bugashuong seang	gaʃuɔŋ suak bugaʃuɔŋ seaŋ
43.	Thirteen fingers	gashuong suak bugashuong sat	gaʃuɔŋ suak bugaʃuɔŋ sat
44.	Twenty fingers	gashuong shong feang	gaʃuɔŋ ʃɔŋ feaŋ
45.	A hundred fingers	gashuong chi	gaʃuɔŋ tʃi
46.	Two hundred fingers	gashuong chi feang	gaʃuɔŋ tʃi feaŋ
47.	Four hundred fingers	gashuong chinyai	gaʃuɔŋ tʃinjai
48.	Sun	mam	mam
49.	Moon	zuat	zuat
	Full moon	asainzuat	asainzuat
	New moon	zuasai	zuasai
50.	Day	mam	mam
	Night	tietuk	tiɛtuk
	Morning	chochon	tʃotʃɔn
51.	Rain	zi	zi
52.	Water	sokhwot	sɔxwɔt
53.	Blood	esok	ɛsɔk
54.	Fat	kiche	kɪtʃe
55.	Salt	imfak	ɪmfa:k
56.	Stone	afang	afaŋ
	Iron	cham	tʃam
57.	Hill	chok	tʃɔk
58.	River = Stream	chon	tʃɔn
59.	Road	vak	va:k
60.	House	inyo	ɪnjo
	Two houses	akanyo	akanjo feâ
	Many houses	akanyo adidit	akanjo adidit
	All the houses	kanyo	kakaba kanjo
61.	Roof	tat	ta:t
62.	Door	zakanyo	zakanjo

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63.	Mat	akpang	akpaŋ
64.	Basket	atsiran	atsɪran
65.	Drum	bin	bin
66.	Pot	olon	ɔlɔn
67.	Knife	abai	abai
68.	Spear	zoang	zoaŋ
69.	Bow	ate	ate
70.	Arrow	khiet	xiɛt
	Five arrows	khien foon	xiɛn foɔn
71.	Gun	bindiga	bɪndɪga
72.	War	zang	zaŋ
73.	Meat (animal)	nam	nam
74.	Elephant	zoom	zoɔm
75.	Buffalo	zat	zat
76.	Leopard	tyo	tjɔ
77.	Monkey	okho	ɔxɔ
79.	Goat	zoom	zoɔm
80.	Dog	obu	ɔbu
81.	Bird	aman	aman
	Feather	chadaman	tʃadaman
83.	Fowl	yuan	yuan
84.	Eggs	chi	tʃi
85.	One egg	achi anyung	atʃi anjuŋ
86.	Snake	zak	za:k
87.	Frog	kusambwat	kusambwat
88.	Spider	taneang	taneaŋ
89.	Fly	chinchung	tʃɪntʃuŋ
90.	Bee	shuai	ʃuəi
	Honey	tong	tɔŋ
91.	Tree	inkwon	ɪnkwɔn
	Ten trees	inkwon suak	ɪnkwɔn suak
92.	Leaf	akikyuo	akikjuo
93.	Banana	ayaba	ayaba
94.	Maize	tsakpat	tsakpat
95.	Ground nut	shuwi	ʃuwi
96.	Oil	khiau	xiau

THE JABA

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(N.B.—The following notes were not obtained locally, and were not tested by genealogies. They were obtained mainly from a single informant, and may therefore be inaccurate.)

The Jaba are a tribe of some 13,000 people situated to the west of the Kagoro. Their territory is cut in two by the 101 [161]

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their territory is cut in two by the
101 Zaria-Plateau boundary, a circumstance which is likely to hinder
[133] or prevent the evolution of a single tribal authority. They call themselves the Ham (Ham), and under this title Koelle published
197 a vocabulary of their language some eighty years ago. A schedule of words and phrases is attached from which it will be seen that
[193] Jaba belongs to the classifying group of the Sudanic family. The prefix system is less regular than in Kurama, some of whose prefixes are of the Bantu type. The phonology is closely akin
[194] to that of the Aregwe of the Bauchi Plateau, and one of the most striking features is the prevalence of palatalization of consonants.

802 They had, and still employ, the duodecimal system of numeration, though it has now become confused with a decimal system, so that the word for "ten" is described as *sok Kpara* or "The Hausa *sok*" and the word for "twelve" is called *sok Ham* or "the Jaba *sok*".

621 The social organization of the tribe appears to be of the
582 local exogamy pattern. Thus in the town of Kwoi each ward constitutes an exogamous group, marriage between members of the same ward being prohibited.

The Kwoi wards are:—

(1) Sarkin Turu.
(2) Makama.
(3) Magaji.
(4) Sarki.
(5) Yari.
(6) Galadima.
(7) Madaki.

It was stated that not so long ago the first five wards constituted a single exogamous group. They regarded themselves as being of one stock, and intermarried only with the members of the Galadima or Madaki wards. This grouping broke down, it is said, because the women of the Galadima and Madaki wards proved insufficient to go round the men of the other five wards, especially as parents of the outlying villages of Nok, Sambam, etc., were less inclined to give their daughters to men of Kwoi town, on the ground that the women of Kwoi town had taken to wearing garments of cloth, whereas they (of Nok, etc.) still maintained their semi-nude condition. If these statements are correct they are of great interest as being an actual instance of the manner in which social groups break

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up, and as showing also the effect which modern conditions have on the social organization of primitive tribes. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know what regard, if any, missionaries pay to the local laws of exogamy in arranging marriages between converts, inasmuch as intermarriage of persons of the same social group is viewed by the natives as repulsive and incestuous, and people who contract such marriages are regarded as bringing pollution on the entire community.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally. A man may, therefore, marry a woman of his mother's ward; but the usual rule applies that he must avoid marrying any close relative of his mother, e.g. custom would not allow him to marry a maternal cousin for at least three generations. There is an organized system of elopement with married women which is regarded as a legitimate form of marriage, the parents of the woman being usually privy to the elopement, and entitled to receive a bride-price. The first husband (as among the Katab, etc.) has no redress. Wives may not, however, be abducted from men of the same town as the abductor, i.e. a man of Kwoi may not abduct the wife of another man of Kwoi, but he may abduct the wife of a man of the villages of Nok, Sambam, Chori, Kurmin Musa, etc., or of some neighbouring tribe. It is even permissible to abduct a girl who is betrothed to some other man. It was stated that the fiancée could not demand any compensation.

The commission of adultery was regarded as a moral offence entailing trouble not merely on the households of those concerned but also on the entire town. It had to be wiped out by sacrifice. It was customary before war for all the warriors to collect, and if any had committed adultery he had to make a confession. The guilty parties were forced to drink a mixture of beer, excrement (human and canine), certain leaves, and some of a woman's monthly discharge. This was believed to purge the "dirt" of the adultery.

I had no opportunity of making satisfactory investigations on the subject of emblems associated with the social groups. But it appeared that the leopard was specially associated with the Madaki's ward, which is known as "the ward of the leopard". No member of the ward may kill a leopard, but leopards killed by other wards are brought to them and eaten ceremonially (by the members of Madaki's ward). Thus if members of the

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Chief's ward kill a leopard they bring the corpse to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, "We have killed your son, come and bury him." Leaving the corpse on the rock, they run back home, for if they were caught by the Madaki men they would be charged with having murdered one of their number. The corpse is then taken to the sacr[illegible] by the Madaki men who skin it, using their nails inste[illegible] of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by the grown-up men, young lads receiving merely some of the juice. The skin is thrown out and is appropriated later by those who had killed the leopard. All the members of Madaki's ward are believed to have the power of turning into leopards. Indeed, all the Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals. It is said that there is a female society which exists for this purpose. The senior members prepare all corpses (male and female) for burial, and during the burial-rites parents hand over their daughters to be initiated into the wer-animal rites. These rites are carried out in the sacred grove where, incidentally, all snakes and fish in the river are respected, for they are believed to embody the souls of human beings.

The interesting rites by which Jaba boys are initiated into the mystery of the *ku* have already been fully described (see page 65).

The Jaba appear to have been worshippers of the Sun.

JABA (Kwoi dialect, per Garuba)

1. Head	ritsi	rɪtsi
2. Hair	khi	xi
2. Hair	xi	khi
3. Eye	su	su
Two eyes	suko fani	sukɔ fani
4. Ear	zantɔ	zantõ
Two ears	zantõ ka fani	zantõ kə fani
5. Nose	fwik (i.e. bilabial f)	ɸwɪk (i.e. bilabial f)
6. One tooth	izhi wo zini	ɪʒi wo zɪni
Five teeth	izhi yuto	ɪʒi juto (the t is palatalized)
7. Tongue	lem	lɛm
8. Neck	tõ	tõ
9. Breast (woman's)	imbã	ɪmbã
10. Heart	chu	tʃu
11. Belly	hwiya	hwija

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12.	Back	hlio (*or* slio)	ɬio
13.	Arm	bok	bɔk
14.	Hand	taibok	təibɔk
	Two hands	bok ka fani	bɔk kə fani
15.	Finger	ķe	ķe (palatalized k)
	Five fingers	ķetuo	ķetuo
16.	Finger nail	furo	furɔ
17.	Leg	dak	dak
18.	Knee	purum	purum
19.	Foot	taidak	təidak
	Two feet	dakofani	dakofani
20.	Man (person)	inogo	ɪnɔgɔ
	Ten people	inogo sok	ɪnɔgo sɔk
21.	Man (not woman)	sukhak	suxak
	Two men	sukhak bu fani	suxar bu fani
22.	Woman	sizung	sɪzuŋ
	Two women	sizung bu fani	sɪzuŋ bu fani
23.	Child	shevye	ʃɛvjɛ
24.	Father	ķe	ķe
25.	Mother	inyo	ɪnjo
26.	Slave	gana	gana
27.	Chief	pop	pop
28.	Friend	in dubai	ɪn duabi
29.	Smith	nina	nɪna
30.	Doctor	nidgwop	nɪdgwɔp
31.	One finger	ke (*or* kye) zhini	ke (*or* kje) ʒɪni
32.	Two fingers	ke (*or* kye) thani	ke (*or* kje) θani
33.	Three fingers	ke (*or* kye) kyat	ke (*or* kje) kjat
34.	Four fingers	ke (*or* kye) nyang	ke (*or* kje) njaŋ
35.	Five fingers	ke (*or* kye) tuo	ke (*or* kje) tuo
36.	Six fingers	ke (*or* kye) tuwani	ke (*or* kje) tuwani
37.	Seven fingers	ke (*or* kye) torfo	ke (*or* kje) tɔrfo
38.	Eight fingers	ke (*or* kye) nalang	ke (*or* kje) nalʌŋ
39.	Nine fingers	ke (*or* kye) nbonkwop	ke (*or* kje) nbɔnkwɔp
40.	Ten fingers	ke (*or* kye) kwop (*or* sok)	ke (*or* kje) kwɔp (*or* sɔk)
41.	Eleven fingers	ke (*or* kye) ubonsok (*or* sor diezhini)	ke (*or* kje) ubɔnsɔk (*or* sɔr dieʒɪni)
42.	Twelve fingers	ke (*or* kye) sok (*or* sor diethani)	ke (*or* kje) sɔk (*or* sɔr dieθani)
43.	144 fingers	inyakho	ɪnjaxo
44.	A hundred fingers	—	—
45.	Two hundred fingers	—	—
46.	Four hundred fingers	—	—
47.	Sun	nom	nɔm
	God	nom	nɔm
48.	Moon	fi	fi
	Full moon	fi hõ	fi hõ
	New moon	uviefe	uviefe

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49.	Day	tanom	tənɔm
	Night	ritu	ritu
	Morning	chuchuk	tʃutʃuk
50.	Rain	mot	mot
51.	Water	sitan	sitan
52.	Blood	zi	zi
53.	Fat	hwi	hwi
54.	Salt	tok	tɔk
55.	Stone	kyara	kjara (i.e. palatalized k)
	Iron	jom	dʒɔm
56.	Hill	pong	poŋ
57.	River	dok	dɔk
58.	Road	kanyă	kanjă
59.	House	zu	zu
	Two houses	zuko fani	zuko fani
	Many houses	zuku gwŏ	zuzu gwŏ
	All the houses	zuzu leleva	zuzu lɛlɛvə
60.	Roof	shuk	ʃuk
61.	Door	nyizu	njizu
62.	Mat	bet	bɛt
63.	Basket	dyem	djɛm
64.	Drum	bi	bi
65.	Pot	inyuk (*or* nyik)	ɪnjuk (*or* njik)
66.	Knife	kwon (*or* kon)	kwɔn (*or* kɔn)
67.	Spear	pran	pran
68.	Bow	ta	tə
69.	Arrow	gbi	gbi
	Five arrows	gbi ka tuo	gbi kə tuo
70.	Gun	bop	bop
71.	War	uvya	uvja
72.	Meat (animal)	nyam	njam
73.	Elephant	jom	dʒɔm
74.	Buffalo	khiek	xiɛk
75.	Leopard	nangong	naŋgɔŋ
76.	Monkey	dup	dup
77.	Pig	eledde	elɛdde
78.	Goat	thu	ðu
79.	Dog	webi	webi
80.	Bird	nunu	nunu
	Feather	chat	tʃat
81.	Parrot	aku	aku
82.	Fowl	inyu	ɪnjʉ
83.	Eggs	kep	kep
84.	One egg	kep wizeni	kep wɪzeni
85.	Snake	shung	ʃuŋ
86.	Frog	bohovro	bohovro
87.	Spider	hwek	hwɛk
88.	Fly	jung (bojoung)	dʒuŋ (bodʒuŋ)
89.	Bee	fyik	fjik
	Honey	rintung	rɪntuŋ

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90.	Tree	ki	ki
	Ten trees	ki sor	ki sɔr
91.	Leaf	zang	zaŋ
92.	Banana	pungwomo	puŋgwomo
93.	Maize	gupara	gupara
94.	Ground nut	fwi	fwi
95.	Oil	hwi	hwi
96.	The tall woman	sizunga sari	sizuŋa sari
	The tall mwoen	sizunga sari	sizuŋa sari
97.	Large dog	webi gwong	webi gwɔŋ
98.	Small dog	webi suwega	webi suewga
99.	The dog bites	webu nga bet	webi nga bet
100.	The dog bites me	webi bwe bi	webi bwɛ bi
101.	The dog which bit me yesterday	webi kain bwe bi lenga	webi kain bwɛ bi lɛŋ
102.	I flog the dog	mi kwet webi	mi kwet webi
103.	The dog which I have flogged	webi kain me kwer Ga (i.e. uvular g)	webi kain me kwer Ga (i.e. uvular g)
104.	I see him	mi lik Ga (*or* mi liya)	mi lik Ga (*or* mi lija)
	I see her	mi lik Ga (*or* mi liya)	mi lik Ga (*or* mi lija)
	He sees you	inga lik ingu	iŋa lik iŋu
	He sees us	inga lik nyi	iŋa lik nji (*or* liŋji)
	We see you (pl.)	nyi lik nyu	nji lik nju (*or* liŋju)
	We see them	nyi lik bo	nji lik bo (*or* libo)
105.	Beautiful bird	nunu seera	nunu seerə
106.	Slave	gana	gana
	My slave	ganmi	ganmi
	Thy slave	gana fu ngu	gana fu ŋu
	Our slaves	bogan nyi	bogannji (*or* gana fu nji)
107.	The Chief's slave	gana fu pop (*or* gan pop)	gana fu pop (*or* gan pop)
	His slave	ganinga	ganiŋa (*or* gana fu ŋa)
108.	We see the slave	nyi lik gana	nji lik gana (*or* nji li gana)
109.	We call the slave	nyi hi gana	nji hi gana
110.	The slave comes	gana nga bo	gana nga bo (*or* gana wo bo)
111.	He came yesterday	inga bo liang	iŋa bo liaŋ
	He is coming today	inga a bo lile	iŋa a bo lile
	He will come tomorrow	inga ta bo liki	iŋa tʌ bo liki
112.	The slaves go away	bogana bo ji bo	bogana bo dʒi bo
113.	Who is your Chief?	nani su pop ingu?	nani su pop iŋu?

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114.	The two villages are making war on each other	khip bofani bo tang viya di fu bo	xɪp bofani bo taŋ vija di fu bo
115.	The sun rises	darinda sok (*or* nam wo tiak)	darɪnda sɔk (*or* nam wo tiʌk)
	The sun sets	darinda bu	darɪnda bu
116.	The man is eating	naa inga khi (*or* nogo wo khri boi)	nʌa ɪŋa xi (*or* nɔgo wo xri boi)
117.	The man is drinking	naa inga hwa (*or* nogo wo hwo sitana)	nʌa ɪŋa hwa (*or* nɔgo hwɔ sitana)
118.	The man is asleep	naa inga bula (*or* nogo wo lala)	nʌa ɪŋa bulʌ (*or* nɔgo wo lələ)
119.	I break the stick	mi bun imbyong	mi bun ɪmbjɔŋ
	This stick is broken	imbyong kain ki buna (ki = it)	ɪmbjɔŋ kain ki buna (ki = it)
	This stick cannot be broken	imbyong kain ba da fe bun ki	ɪmbjɔŋ kain ba da fe bun ki
	Break this stick for me	bun imbyong kain fu mi	bun ɪmbjɔŋ kain fu mi
120.	I have built a house	misan za	misan za
121.	My people have built their houses yonder	su nyi bo san zhuzhu sab bong (*or* bonehami san zhuzhu dihung)	su ɲji bo san ʒuʒu sab bɔŋ (*or* bonehami san ʒuʒu dihung)
122.	What do you do every day?	ingu paing kachi kowane tuk? (*or* ingu woɛi tyum si sasara)	ɪŋu paɪŋ kʌtʃi kowane tuk? (*or* ɪŋu woɛi tjum si səsarə)
	I work on my farm	mi paing kyumo di fem (*or* mi wo zi tyum mo di kyangmi)	mi paɪŋ kjumo di fɛm (*or* mi wo zi tjum mo di kjaŋmi)
123.	I am going away	mi ji mi	mi dʒi mi
	I am hoeing	mi lyam (*or* mi wo lyam lyam)	mi ʎam (*or* mi wo ʎam ʎam)
	I am going away to hoe	mi ji ga lyam (*or* zi mi di ga lyam)	mi dʒi ga ʎam (*or* zi mi di ga ʎam)
	I am going to my farm	mi ji ga kyangmi	mi dʒi ga kjaŋmi
124.	The woman comes	sizung inga bo	sɪzuŋ ɪŋa bo
	She comes	inga bo	ɪŋa bo
	The woman laughs	sizung inga zamzam	sɪzuŋ ɪŋa zamzam
	The woman weeps	sizung inga khira khira	sɪzuŋ ɪŋa xɪraxɪra
125.	I ask the woman	mi libi sizung inga	mi libi sɪzuŋ ɪŋa
126.	Why do you laugh?	fu kachi ingu zamzama?	fu kʌtʃi ɪŋu zamzama?
127.	Why do you cry?	fu kachi ingu khira khira?	fu kʌtʃi ɪŋu xɪraxɪra?
128.	My child is dead	we mi inga ki	we mi ɪŋa ki
129.	It is not dead	ki da ki	ki da ki

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130.	Are you ill ?	ingu long	ŋgu lɔŋ
131.	My children are ill	bowe mi bo long	bowe mi bo lɔŋ
132.	Her child is better	we inga inga doik	we ŋa ŋa doik
133.	Yes	e	e
	No	hewe	hewe
134.	A fine knife	kon fera	kɔn ʃera
	Give me the knife	ma mi kon	ma mi kɔn
	I give you the knife	mi ma ingu kon	mi ma ŋgu kɔn
135.	I am a European	mi su nasara	mi su nasara
	You are a black man	ingu su niri sit	ŋgu su niri sit
	You are a Jaba	inga su fu Ham	ŋgu su fu Ham
136.	Name	hwo	hwo
	My name	hwo bi	hwo bi
	Your name	hwo ingu	hwo ŋgu
	What is your name ?	hwo wu gu di nani ?	hwo wu gu di nani ?
137.	There is water in the gourd	sitani su di hep	sitana su di hɛp
	The knife is on the stone	kon su difo kyara	kon su difo kjara
	The fire is under the pot	yang su di hyeri nyik	jaŋ su di hjeri njik
	The roof is over the hut	lintang kimi zu	lintaŋ kimi zu
138.	You are good	men ingu sishera	mɛn ŋgu siʃera
	This man is bad	niri kain men inga ha shera	niri kain mɛn ŋa ha ʃera
139.	The paper is white	takarda su sibura	takarda su sibura
	This thing is black	kain su sisit	kain su sisit
	This thing is red	kain su sibana	kain su sibana
140.	This stone is heavy	kyara kain mot	kjara kain mot
	This stone is not heavy	kyara kain ha mora	kjara kain ha mora
141.	I write	mi chang	mi tʃaŋ
	I give you the letter	mi ma ingu takarda	mi ma ŋgu takarda
	Carry the letter to the town	pu takarda ji ga hep	pu takarda dʒi ga hep
142.	Go away	ingu ji ingu	ŋgu dʒi ŋgu
	Come here	bi dihi	bi dihi
143.	Where is your house ?	zu ingu yena ?	zu ŋgu jena ?
144.	My house is here	zu mi su dihi	zu mi su dihi
	My house is there	zu mi su sabe	zu mi su sabe
145.	What have you to sell ?	ingu pu kachi sigagwoi	ŋgu pu katʃi sigagwoi
146.	I want to buy fish	mi sime gwoi shai	mi sime gwɔi ʃai

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147. The fish which you bought is bad — shai ingu gwoi ha shera — ʃai ŋgu gwɔi ha ʃera

148. Where is the man who killed the elephant? — net fet jom yena — net fet dʒom jɛna?

He has killed many elephants — inga fet bojom gwong — ŋa fet bodʒom gwɔŋ

How many elephants were killed yesterday? — bo fet bojom kana liang? — bo fet bodʒom kana liaŋ?

149. Untie it — gari ki — gari ki

Tie this rope — niri lik kain — niri lik kaɪn

Make the boy untie the goat — suk shewa nga niri thu — suk ʃewa ŋa niri ðu

150. My brothers and I, we are going, but no one else — wenyi di mi, nyi wura amma ge naa wara — wenji di ɱi, nji wura amma ge nʌa wara

Brothers, let us go and tell the Chief — we nyi nekh nyi ji sari pop — we nji, nɛx nji dʒi sari pop

151. This tree is bigger that that — ki kain chari gam kong — ki kaɪn tʃari gam kɔŋ

Last night I was in my house with a white man; we heard a movement outside; he said, "you hear that; they are thieves; let us go and see." We went, and I said, "who are you?" and they answered, "nothing"; but I said, "you are thieves"; so we called the Police and put them in prison.

Liang mi su di ju mi bap di nasara; nyi gu gya bar gyi di sab bu zu; inga lim "ingu gu kain, bo su fep, nekh nyi ji nyi ki nyi lik." nyi dzi nyi ki mi lim. "nyu su naai". ki ha hane bo byak, amma mi lim "nyu su fep." nyi hi bo dogari ki tuk bo di jaru.

Liaŋ mi su di dʒu mi bap di nasara; nji gu gja bar gji di sab bu zu; ŋa lɪm "ŋu gu kain, bo su fep, nɛx dʒi nji ki nji lik." nji dʒi nji ki mi lɪm. "nju su naai." ki ha hane bo bjak, amma mi lɪm "nju su fep." nji hi bo dogari ki tuk bo di dʒaru.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

	Singular		*Plural*	
192 Goat	thu	ðu	bothu	boðu
Tree	ki	ki	boki	boki
193 Pot	nyik	njik	bonyik	bonjik
Tooth	zi	zi	bozi	bozi
Smith	netnak	netnak	bonetnak	bonetnak
Chief	pop	pop	bopop	bopop
Boy	shewe	ʃewe	boshewe	boʃewe
Spear	pan	pan	bopan	bopan
Arrow	gbi	gbi	bogbi	bogbi
Bow	ta	ta	bota	bota